Daily Report

East Europe

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Vienna CSCE Ministerial Talks Continue

Johanes Meets Shevardnadze

LD0703233489 Prague CTK in English
2159 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna March 7 (CTK)—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met here Tuesday with Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes.

The ministers discussed the ways of implementing joint initiatives of the socialist countries at the talks on conventional weapons in Europe and the security and confidence-building measures which have opened here.

Eduard Shevardnadze and Jaromir Johanes informed each other about the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia at present aimed at the maximum use of the potential of socialism in the interest of the peoples of the two countries.

Varkonyi Meets Romania's Totu

LD0603135189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] In Vienna, at the scene of the foreign ministerial meeting, Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi held talks with his Romanian counterpart, Ioan Totu. The meeting, which was requested by the Romanian side, concerned bilateral relations and involved an exchange of opinions. It lasted approximately 15 minutes.

The Romanian side criticized the Hungarian mass media. At the same time, Peter Varkonyi emphasized that for Hungarian-Romanian relations to improve, talks without preconditions are needed, which is something that our homeland also believes in.

Varkonyi Talks With Waldheim

LD0703181689 Budapest MTI in English
1610 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, March 7 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, currently in Vienna on the occasion of the Vienna talks of the 35 signatory countries to the Helsinki Final Act, met on Tuesday with Spanish Foreign Minister Fernandez Ordonez, who is currently the president of the EEC. The sides discussed the developing relations between the two countries, and the development of cooperation between the European Communities and Hungary. Mr Fernandez Ordonez agreed to give substance to the cooperation agreement between Hungary and the EEC, and the many-sided development of relations.

Also on Tuesday, Austrian President of the Republic Kurt Waldheim received the Hungarian foreign minister, in his office. At the talks, which lasted for more than 30 minutes, the sides highly appreciated the good-neighbourly relations between their countries, and the importance of the now opening disarmament and confidence-building talks in Vienna. They briefed each other on the development of relations between the EEC and their countries. President Waldheim stressed that lasting neutrality will continue to be a priority of Austrian foreign policy, and that Austria will continue to attach major importance to the fostering and expansion of Hungarian-Austrian relations based on diverse cooperation.

Varkonyi Confers With Alois Mock

LD0703234489 Budapest MTI in English
2155 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, March 7 (MTI)—Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian foreign minister, held talks with Alois Mock, federal vice-chancellor and minister of foreign affairs, in the Hofburg [Palace], Vienna, on Tuesday.

The sides established that Hungary and Austria were maintaining good, cordial and dynamically-developing relations. Concerning the planned Budapest-Vienna World Expo, Herr Mock said that great attention was being paid by Austria to the opportunities offered by this large-scale event. The Austrian side is making active preparations and efforts so that the Paris-based international exhibition bureau should award the right to host the world expo to the two countries. Mr Varkonyi informed his partner on Hungary's decision to join the U.N. refugee convention.

The sides discussed relations between Austria and the Common Market in the light of the fact that Austria was examining the possibility of approaching the EEC. The federal vice-chancellor said that this approach should comply with the neutral status of Austria and the requirement of the undisturbed development of Hungarian-Austrian relations.

Mr Varkonyi returned to Budapest on Tuesday.

Mladenov Meets SFRY's Loncar

AU0703080589 Sofia BTA in English
2106 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, March 6 (BTA special correspondent)—Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, conferred here today with Mr Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs of Yugoslavia.

The two ministers briefed each other on the socialist and the socio-political development of Bulgaria and of Yugoslavia, on the tasks which the BCP and the LCY solve at this stage. The sides exchanged views and outlined areas for the further promotion of cooperation between the two neighbouring socialist states.

An emphasis was laid on the positive implications of the ongoing CSCE process, which have been reaffirmed by the successful completion of the Vienna follow-up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The two ministers expressed the hope that the new talks beginning in Vienna will lead to results which will have a favourable effect on the overall situation in Europe.

Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias Arrives

AU0303180289 Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 3 (BTA)—At the invitation of Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Mr Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of the Hellenic Republic, arrived on a friendly working visit to this country today. At Sofia airport he was met by Mr Petur Mladenov and other officials.

Answering to the question what can be expected from the visit the Greek foreign minister expressed conviction that the visit will confirm once again the high level of the Bulgaro-Greek relations. As we have said a number of times our relations are of example, especially for countries belonging to different political and economic alliances. I could not point out another example in Europe similar to the Bulgaro-Greek relations, said Mr Karolos Papoulias.

Further on Greece's foreign minister recalled the close friendly relations between Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou and State Council President Todor Zhivkov. Minister Papoulias said that Greece expects a visit by the Bulgarian state leader which would give new impetus to the upgrade development of the bilateral relations. Mr Karolos Papoulias said that he will discuss with his Bulgarian counterpart questions of the bilateral cooperation and international problems of mutual interest. It is expected that special interest will be paid to the situation in the Balkans. The Greek foreign minister expressed the conviction that despite the difficulties which sometimes emerge, the cooperation in the Balkans has good prospects and Greece as well as Bulgaria will continue to make efforts for its development

Mladenov, Papoulias Open Talks

AU0303202989 Sofia BTA in English 2002 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 3 (BTA)—The talks between the ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Mr Petur Mladenov, and of Greece, Mr Karolos Papoulias, started here.

The two sides made a thorough review of a wide range of questions of the bilateral relations and the international situation. The two ministers stressed that the tendency toward improvement of the international situation continues to consolidate itself and stressed the importance of the new political thinking for the positive development of the international relations. Satisfaction was expressed over the deepening of the dialogue in the sphere of security and disarmament, over the tendency for regulation of international conflicts. The two sides characterized as important landmarks of this process the signing of the Soviet-American INF Treaty, the successful completion of the Vienna meeting, the advance in the multilateral cooperation in the Balkans.

The two sides expressed their joint resoluteness to contribute to the strengthening of the positive tendencies in the Balkans, Europe and in the world, and especially to the new cycle of negotiations starting in Vienna on the reduction of armies and conventional weapons and on the strengthening of security and confidence.

Minister Mladenov and Minister Papoulias assessed highly the political relations between Bulgaria and Greece, noting the decisive role of the regular contacts between the leaders of the two countries Mr. Todor Zhivkov and Mr. Andreas Papandreou. There are no unsolved problems between the two countries, their positions on the most important international issues are similar, ascertained the two ministers.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr. Karolos Papoulias discussed the opportunities for further development of the economic and techno-scientific cooperation. Joint conviction was expressed that there are real possibilities for broadening and deepening of the cooperation on the basis of the contract-legal base which has already been established, with the wide application of industrial and trade cooperation and other modern forms.

The two ministers made a detailed review of the situation in the Balkans and exchanged information on questions of mutual interest. They greeted the beginning of the multilateral Balkan dialogue and expressed conviction that it is necessary to continue the work for realization of the ideas for the turning of the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, which correspond to the vital interests of the Balkan peoples, to the stability in Europe and the Mediterranean. The Greek side expressed saisfaction over Bulgaria's important act—the unilateral reduction of the military forces and military expenses.

Unanimous opinion was expressed that the efforts for the further stabilization of the political climate in the Balkans will continue to be in the focus of the attention of the two countries. The talks passed in a friendly and constructive atmosphere.

Mladenov Toast at Dinner

AU0603171689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Mar 89 p 6

[Report on toast made by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, at official dinner given on 3 March in Sofia in honor of Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of Greece]

[Text] Petur Mladenov declared in his toast speech: The dynamic strength of contacts between our two countries is not an isolated phenomenon in Bulgarian-Greek relations. It is an expression of the policy conducted by the leaders of our two countries, aimed at an increasingly intense and diverse development of mutually advantageous cooperation, of good-neighborly relations and friendship between Bulgaria and Greece. It is a pleasant, but also difficult task

to search for and to open up opportunities for the further expansion and intensification of Bulgarian-Greek relations, the Bulgarian minister pointed out. It is a pleasant task, on the one hand, because it illustrates the constructive force of peace and cooperation. It is a difficult task, on the other hand, because, regardless of how many and what great results we may have achieved in this respect, they cannot satisfy us.

Petur Mladenov continued: It is gratifying for all of us that the world is looking at the future with greater optimism today. The efforts aimed at detente and disarmament, at eliminating hotbeds of tension and conflicts, the efforts aimed at universal peace and security, are beginning to produce specific results. For quite a long time, we have been positively assessing the political atmosphere in the Balkans. This does not mean, however, that our peninsula is totally immune to negative experiences and situations of crisis, or that certain problems may not become dangerously acute. Nevertheless, negative aspects are not the prevailing factors in the atmosphere of our region. The main attention of the Balkan countries today should be focused upon the consolidation of all positive trends, our efforts should be aimed at strengthening the constructive and well-intentioned approach to the development of bilateral and multilateral Balkan cooperation. It is gratifying that the new political thinking is winning increasing support, and we hope that this trend will sooner or later prevail in all Balkan countries.

In closing his toast speech, Petur Mladenov assured his guest that the development of Bulgarian-Greek relations is an important issue of Bulgarian foreign policy, that it is a priority trend in our Balkan policy. We are firmly resolved to do everything within our power to expand, strengthen, and further promote this trend in our common interest, Petur Mladenov stated.

Zhivkov Receives Papoulias

AU0403143489 Sofia BTA in English
1330 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—The similarity of the views of Bulgaria and Greece on the main problems of our times and the resoluteness of the two countries to continue the policy of good-neighbourliness and cooperation was stressed today when Mr. Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, received Mr. Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of the Hellenic Republic.

At the meeting the two sides discussed questions of the bilateral relations and international issues. High assessment was given to the active Bulgaro-Greek relations, to their joint favourable reflection in the Balkans and in Europe.

Mr. Todor Zhivkov acquainted Mr. Karolos Papoulias with the processes of restructuring under way in this country in the economic, social and intellectual sphere, with the chief trends of the international activity of this country.

The minister of foreign affairs of the Hellenic Republic handed to Bulgaria's State Council president a personal message by the prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, Mr. Andreas Papandreou. Mr. Peter Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, was present at the meeting.

The Bulgarian state leader gave lunch in honour of the Greek guest.

Papoulias Holds News Briefing

AU0503142989 Sofia BTA in English
2108 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 4 (BTA)—Satisfaction over his visit in Bulgaria expressed the minister of foreign affairs of the Hellenic Republic Mr. Karolos Papoulias, who left this country today. He was seen off at the airport by his Bulgarian counterpart Mr. Petur Mladenov.

Mr. Karolos Papoulias characterized the Bulgaro-Greek dialogue as a new confirmation of the high level of the bilateral relations which have undergone exceptionally dynamic development during the last seven years.

Greece's foreign minister noted the active contribution of the two countries for the realization of the initiatives for Balkans free of nuclear and chemical weapons, for ecological protection of the peninsula, and stressed the joint desire of Bulgaria and Greece for activation of the positive tendencies for strengthening of peace, for disarmament and detente in Europe.

Mr. Karolos Papoulias expressed conviction that a new page in the bilateral relations will be opened with the visit of State Council President Mr. Todor Zhivkov to Greece. It is expected that new important joint initiatives will be launched by Mr. Todor Zhivkov and Mr. Andreas Papandreou, according to Mr. Papoulias.

I return back to Athens with the feeling of deep satisfaction over the success of the visit which confirmed our excellent relations, said Mr. Karolos Papoulias.

Papoulias Visit Evaluated

AU0503175689 Sofia BTA in English
1715 GMT 5 Mar 89

["For Peace and Security in the Balkans"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA commentator Boyko Borisov)—The friendly working visit of Mr. Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of the Hellenic Republic, in Bulgaria, confirmed the significance of the Bulgaro-Greek relations as an important stabilizing factor in the Balkans.

There are no unsettled problems between Bulgaria and Greece—this was stressed at the talks between the Bulgarian Foreign Minister Mr. Petur Mladenov and his Greek counterpart.

It was also stressed at the talks that today the Bulgaro-Greek friendship is not directed against anyone. A sound basis for this friendship is the joint resoluteness to build the relations on the basis of the existing realities, of the will of the two peoples to live in peace and understanding, of the desire to strengthen the positive tendencies in the Balkans, Europe and in the world.

Nobody in Greece today, and I am convinced in Bulgaria too, believes that the neighbouring country poses some threat. It is hard to question these words of Mr. Karolos Papoulias who characterized the climate between the two countries as "a climate of open boundaries". What is more at the talks the sides confirmed the readiness of Sofia and Athens to continue their efforts for realization of the initiatives for turning of the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, to cooperate for the conclusion of a treaty for ecological protection of the peninsula, to support the multilateral talks between the Balkan states. Minister Papoulias expressed satisfaction over the important peace-loving step of Bulgaria for unilateral reduction of armies and military expenses.

All this is impressive, especially for countries which are members of different alliances and are situated in a region, which in the not so recent past has been known as the "powder keg of Europe". With good reason was also noted the contribution of Todor Zhivkov, Yeoryios Papandreou, Konstantinos Karamanlis and Andreas Papandreou, whose political realism stands in the basis of the road which has been passed to the present friendship, goodneighbourliness and cooperation, which are characterized as an example of interstate relations.

At the press conference Mr. Karolos Papoulias mentioned that new joint initiatives of Bulgaria and Greece can be expected during the visit of State Council President Mr. Todor Zhivkov in Athens. That increases the interest in the visit of the Bulgarian state leader in Greece. And what is more at the Mladenov-Papoulias talks a joint opinion was expressed that the new political thinking will continue to give impetus to the Bulgaro-Greek relations in interest of the two peoples, peace and security in the Balkans and Europe.

Foreign Minister Mladenov Departs for Vienna

AU0503175289 Sofia BTA in English 1654 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—Bulgaria's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Petur Mladenov left for Vienna today. He will take part in the talks on conventional forces and the second stage of the European Security Conference starting in Vienna tomorrow.

Editorial Praises Mladenov-Olechowski Talks

AU0603182789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Mar 89 p 5

[Editorial article: "A dialogue, in Accordance With the Present Realities"]

[Text] An important, new step has been taken in the development of bilateral cooperation, specific tasks and the methods of their implementation have been mapped out. This is how we can describe the results of the friendly visit paid by Tadeusz Olechowski, minister of foreign affairs of Poland, to our country.

The basic questions related to the present state of Bulgarian-Polish relations and the prospects for the further perfection of these relations were mapped out during the Polish foreign ministers' meetings with Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and with Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The conclusions drawn from these meetings became a constructive basis for the businesslike nature of the talks between Petur Mladenov and Tadeusz Olechowski, the foreign affairs ministers of Bulgaria and Poland. The atmosphere of a fruitful dialogue was strongly stimulated by the basic coincidence of the goals of restructuring and the renewal of socialism in both countries and by the restructuring process in the Soviet Union, as well as by the extensive action program which was mapped out on the basis of the agreements reached by Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Wojciech Jaruzelski during their meetings in September 1988.

The leaders of Bulgarian and Polish diplomacy touched upon a wide range of questions, reflected in the joint announcement published on the visit. Nevertheless, the businesslike and constructive spirit of the dialogue, aimed at the solution of specific, practical questions, was the most important factor pertaining to our future relations.

This was reflected in the discussion about the existing imperfections in our economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Mutual agreement was reached that in order to overcome such imperfections priority should be given to the most updated forms of integration, such as the establishment of joint enterprises, companies, scientific-production associations, and to extensive production sharing initiatives.

The discussion of the international political situation proceeded in the same spirit. Future joint actions of Bulgaria and Poland were coordinated in connection with confirming the new political thinking, which has become an essential feature of the peace-loving foreign policy conducted by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The Polish foreign minister's visit fully justified the expectations for a useful Bulgarian-Polish dialogue in Sofia. This is so, because the dialogue was in full accordance with the contemporary historical and political realities, and because it served the Bulgarian and Polish people's interests—namely, the consolidation of fraternal friendship, unity of action, and mutual assistance.

Joint Statement With Iraq Reported After Visit

JN2302144889 Baghdad INA in English 1220 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, Feb. 13, INA—Iraq and Bulgaria on Wednesday signed a batch of accords providing for bilateral cooperation in industry, arms industry, economy, trade, agriculture, irrigation and health.

Iraq's first deputy premier, Mr. Taha Yasin Ramadan, here on a two-day visit heading a high-level delegation, and Bulgaria's Prime Minister Mr. Georgi Atanasov, signed an accord on industry and arms industry which aims at laying down a developed strategy in the field of industry.

Meanwhile, Iraq's minister of agriculture and irrigation, Mr. Karim Hasan Rida, and Bulgaria's Minister of Foreign Trade Mr. Khristo Khristov signed a minutes regulating bilateral cooperation in the economic, trade and technical fields. The ministries provide for expanding cooperation and increasing the volume of trade exchange between the two countries. In accordance with the minutes, Iraq will enable Bulgarian firms to build new projects in such fields as agriculture, irrigation, industry, health and science.

Meanwhile, both Mr. Ramadan and Mr. Atanasov told reporters after signing the accords that the new agreement were important steps in developing Iraqi-Bulgarian relations.

Meanwhile, in a joint statement issued at the conclusion of Mr. Ramadan's visit said that Mr. Ramadan, who arrived in Bulgaria upon an invitation by Mr. Atanasov, met with President Todor Zhivkov and handed to the Bulgarian leader a letter from President Saddam Husayn. The joint statement added that the Iraqi side briefed the Bulgarians on the grounds for establishing the Arab Cooperation Council (ACC) stressing that the council would support economic cooperation among the member states to achieve economic integration.

The Iraqi side, the statement said, also informed the Bulgarians on the latest developments of the direct peace talks between Iraq and Iran, and of Iraq's bids to implement United Nations Resolution 598 in accordance with the resolution's operative order to bring about just and lasting peace in the region.

The Bulgarian side highly appreciated Iraq's positive stands vis-a-vis international peace initiatives and expressed confidence that the talks would achieve peace, the statement said.

The statement added that the two sides reviewed the situation in the Middle East and expressed support for the Palestinian struggle under the leadership of Palestine Liberation Organization against the "Israeli" occupation. They stressed that a settlement in the Middle East would not be just and comprehensive unless it is based on the UN resolutions which stipulate a complete and unconditional withdrawal of "Israeli" forces from the occupied Arab territories, and giving the Palestinian people their right to self-determination.

The statement added that the two sides expressed concern over the recent developments in Lebanon, emphasizing that a settlement to the civil war in Lebanon could be achieved only by peaceful means and on the basis of national reconciliation and political dialogue between Lebanese warning factions. The two sides also condemned the "Israeli" aggression on south Lebanon.

Mr. Ramadan extended an invitation to the Bulgarian Prime Minister Mr. Georgi Atanasov to visit Iraq. The Bulgarian premier accepted the invitation whose date would be fixed later and through diplomatic channels.

POGLED Criticizes Formalism in Restructuring

AU2202074389 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 8, 20 Feb 89 pp 8-9

[Valentin Plamenov article: "Citizens or Imitators?" under the rubric: "Uninvited Thoughts"]

[Text] I am wondering whether it is possible for everyone to be in favor of restructuring. I believe that this is impossible.

I can hardly imagine that restructuring could have the same meaning for the wretch who has been patiently waiting over 20 years for his turn to receive an apartment, and for the mean individual who, amid the bustle, managed to grab three state-owned apartments, distribute them to members of his family in no time, and is greedy for more. I just cannot believe that it is the same form of restructuring these two people are aspiring to, because in the final analysis, the mean individual will again try to tear off the wretch's skin with his nails and teeth. This mean individual, whom we all know very well, is also trying to get hold of restructuring and to take advantage of it at his leisure. Generally speaking, his needs and pleasures are trivial; he is dreaming of apartments, weekend houses, cars, and such little amenities. I am not against people living more comfortably. God forbid; I myself have always longed for a little corner where I could take shelter and work in peace, being already tired of writing on my knee. However, these comforts are interpreted in different ways by different people, while restructuring should provide the most

humane and equal living conditions for all people, specifically, the opportunity to compete solely on the basis of their own labor efforts. This however, is in conflict with the manipulations of the mean individual with his numerous apartments. Therefore, according to the most elementary logic, the mean individual should wage a life and death struggle against restructuring, while, in words at least, such individuals pretend to be the most inveterate fighters for restructuring. Who knows whether or not this should be part of their struggle? Can you really penetrate the secret thoughts of the individual who is comfortably dwelling on 200 square meters of living space, while you have squeezed yourself into 30 square meters?

I think that nothing can cause more harm to restructuring than pretending to struggle for restructuring. People in our country, however, are very skilled at this game.

We imitate social activities; we pretend to be courageous, dignified, and honest, while in reality we are expecting someone else to arrange our lives, and we are even angry that this someone seems to be dragging his feet. While we are waiting for this, we should not be surprised if those aforementioned mean individuals are getting the upper hand again.

This time restructuring will not come from the outside. By no means will this be so. If we rely on everyone to embrace restructuring with his heart and soul, we risk putting the cat among the pigeons. Restructuring is called restructuring because it allows all people who do not think in the same way to express themselves. If this were so, we would not need any restructuring.

I am personally offended by the fact that the beautiful word "citizen" is mainly used in prisons in our country today. I understand that in order to go to prison you are supposed to have had misappropriated public resources, as the official terminology defines it, which means that you have stolen a lot of money, which one needs at least some intelligence to do—but still, it offends me. Let us be citizens and not imitators when certain people snatch from under our nose entire housing blocks for the benefit of their offspring; when they drive us crazy waiting in automobile service stations; when my colleague, whose only merit is to be the chief's brother-in-law, is sent on an assignment abroad in my place!

It is my conviction that socialism urgently needs real citizens at the present stage. Imitators have sufficiently misused it in the past.

It is my conviction that socialism has reached a stage and level of maturity at which it is ready to speak for itself and to demonstrate its advantages. Some people imagine that the whole world would pay its respect to socialism just because it is an offspring of brilliant parents—that socialism would enjoy special privileges.

This did not come true, and so much the better that it did not!

Real socialism is not so helpless as to rely on "privileges" granted by the geniuses of mankind! It is by no means helpless, as long as it is built by real citizens!

Imitators have never created any valuable assets in this world....

(This rubric is published by the members of the POGLED Readers' Social Council. The opinions of the authors do not necessarily express the views of the editorial board.)

Inteliectuals Speak at Politburo Meeting

AU2402124789

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 22 February on pages 1 and 2 carries a 6,000-word report on statements of participants in the 21 February session of the 20-21 February meeting between the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian intellectuals entitled "Clear Ideological-Creative Position."

Veselin Yosifov, ANTENI chief editor, "expressed disagreement with the defensive position the Bulgarian press takes whenever it becomes the target of foreign ideological attacks." He called for a "quick and flexible reaction" in such cases.

Lilyana Stefanova, "first deputy chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers and LITERATUREN FRONT chief editor," stressed the possibility to discuss any new idea "under conditions of glasnost and pluralism." She pointed out that the Bulgarian intelligentsia "is still encumbered by obsolete notions about our country and the world. It is only now that it has started to overcome these notions." Stefanova referred to "barriers that hinder our intelligentsia," and stated that she still is not sure that "any sensible solution to a problem, proposed by the intelligentsia, will be adopted, operationally applied, and creatively implemented."

Prof Dr Dobrin Spasov from Sofia University proposed to conduct "serious, diverse, and constant public opinion polls in Bulgaria," something that "would contribute to more glasnost." He expressed "concern with the attitude toward developed capitalism, occasionally shown during the process of restructuring." In this context he called for a better balance "between praising and unmasking modern capitalism."

Valentin Danevski, NARODNA MLADEZH chief editor, stressed "the increased personal responsibility of every writer writing during the period of renewal." He also briefed the participants on the activity of the "Position" Club of young writers and students.

Georgi Stoyanov, film director and chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Cinematographers, pointed out that "no government can function without being connected with the people and the intelligentsia." He spoke about the need "to remove the geographic presence of 'banned zones' and all kinds of secrets."

Bozhidar Bozhilov, first deputy chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Translators and FAKEL chief editor, "stressed the necessity of convening the creative unions' congresses and expressed dissatisfaction with their hitherto preparation." He also spoke about "some failures in the publishing houses' policy related to determining the total number of printed copies of each book," and about the "delicate issues of the moral stimuli and the age at which creative workers retire."

Prof Dr Stoyadin Savov, rector of the Karl Marx Higher Economics Institute, noted the "drop in public confidence in political economy," however, he stressed that this should prompt political economy "to actively join restructuring," "work out a concept on the development of socialism," and "contribute to the new economic thinking."

Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, noted "different opinions" in the Union of Bulgarian Writers concerning the forthcoming writers' congress. "Certain comrades, some of them very experienced and respected, think that the necessary atmosphere and working unity needed for turning the forthcoming congress into a shining gateway to restructuring do not exist." He referred to the "well organized antisocialist propaganda campaign," and expressed his "puzzlement" with the fact that "voices of our comrades, who consider themselves assistants of restructuring, resounded through the microphone of antisocialism." In this context he urged "preventing a fatal division," and simultaneously stressed that "the false unity and total unity of thought of the past is not only unnecessary, but also dangerous."

Prof Dr Orlin Zagorov, lecturer at the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Higher Machine-Electronic Institute, pointed out the importance of the "historical memory" of the Bulgarian people. "It is this memory that gives power to thousands of Bulgarians, whose ancestors have been subjected to Islamization with the view to turn them into Turks, to return them to their own true nature and their roots more than 100 years after the liberation."

Georgi Dimitrov-Goshkin, chairman of the National Committee on Defense of Peace, spoke about the "close relation between socialism and peace," and stressed that it strengthens and "acquires great national and international importance under restructuring."

Kristiyan Milenov, "representative of the new generation of Bulgarian architects," expressed "competent opinions about the architects' profession and their topical problems."

Prof Dr Zhelyazko Stoyanov, deputy director of the Institute on Philosophy at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, urged people not to look at the past with repentance. "Repentance really is useful, but it is first of all an intimate means of reevaluation or parting with the past. The sociohistorical development as a whole is not a suitable sphere about which to feel repentance. This is so because significant social movements, epochs, and processes cannot be explained or understood in a simple manner or with a sense of guilt and sin." He suggested "looking at the past with open eyes," and understanding that "nobody will do something for us or instead of us."

Dimitur Ostoich, deputy chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Painters, urged the convening of the Congress of Bulgarian Painters as soon as possible, and expressed his opposition to the intention to disband the party organizations at the creative unions.

Prof Ivan Popov, corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, spoke about the "danger of decreasing public and labor discipline," which accompanies democracy, "one of restructuring's basic factors." He pointed out "the developed countries with bourgeoise democracy" as countries in which "there is strict public and labor discipline, which is one of the reasons for their successes." He "noted with a certain bitterness" that "representatives of the scientific-creative cadres—engineers, economists, and so forth,—have not been invited to the meeting with the Politburo," and stressed that the "public prestige" of these professions has decreased.

Nikolay Petev, director of Narodna Mladezh Publishing House, spoke on the importance of the forthcoming Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Writers and on some problems of publishing in Bulgaria.

Prof Georgi Stoichkov, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Architects, "stressed the necessity of assessing the theoretical foundations of our culture," and proposed to "reassess socialist realism as a method in our artistic creativity." He pointed out that "elements of such reassessment exist in the premises of the 27th CPSU and 13th BCP Congresses."

Prof Dimitur Buchkov, chairman of the Higher Education Council, spoke about the meaning of the "intelligentsia" concept and traced its historical and philosophical sources.

Prof Dimo Dimov, rector of the Bulgarian State Conservatory, spoke about some basic issues of higher education and youth. In this context he said that "our youth have lost faith, because we have not always told them the truth. The truth is very important. Without it we cannot educate our children."

Following the statements of the participants, the floor was given to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman.

"In his concluding speech he assessed the 2-day meeting as an exceptionally important contribution to the very necessary exchange of opinions and to maintaining constant dialogue with the nation's creative intellectual forces. The first party and state leader spoke about issues that were posed during the discussion, whose solution has a special importance in restructuring's success in all areas, and especially in the intellectual sphere. He spoke about the tasks of education and the creative unions in the issues of the historical heritage, national self-confidence, and the class attitude toward the social processes in the modern world. Stressing the historical prospects of socialism as a social system, he pointed out the necessity of the firm unity of the intelligentsia and a general conviction about the renewing force of restructuring.

"The speech was heard with great attention and followed by prolonged applause."

Dyulgerov Speaks on Trade Union Restructuring

AU2102210789 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
20 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Report on plenum of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions held in Sofia on 17 February: "The Trade Unions' Activity in the New Situation"]

[Text] A plenum of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions [CCBTU] was held in Sofia on Friday [17 February]. The participants concentrated their attention on two issues:

—topical matters in the activity of the trade unions; and

—the staff of the Bulgarian trade unions and the Central Council's budget for this year.

At a meeting held 1 day before the plenum, the bureau of the CCBTU instructed Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, to make a speech on the first issue.

If we stay close to the ordinary man, we will know what to do—this was the leitmotiv of the speech by the CCBTU chairman. We have every reason to claim that the decisions of the December 1987 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, the decree on economic activity, and the regulations for implementing the latter establish a qualitatively new situation in Bulgaria and surpass everything done previously for the overall restructuring of society, especially in the material sphere.

After speaking in detail on the most important changes stemming from the company-based organization of the economy, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov expressed the view that these changes may also be expected to have pronounced social consequences, first and foremost in the sense of new opportunities for more speedily resolving acute social questions through increasing production efficiency, eliminating leveling-down processes, etc., and of new contradictions and social problems that will arise. The trade unions are also vitally involved in this. The need to formulate a new system of labor employment and social security arises, as well as the need for a methodology for analyzing and monitoring the workers' living standard. It is necessary to penetrate deeply into the strata of the individual groups, professions, people with low living standards, pensioners, and so on. Differentiation in incomes will appear, and the functioning of mixed companies employing capital and so on will create problems. Together with the council of ministers and the ministry of planning and economy, we are drawing up a comprehensive document on analyzing, evaluating, and monitoring the living standard. As well as this, work has begun on developing an independent procedure to enable us, as trade unions, to propose alternative solutions and proposals to the government and other bodies.

The decree and the regulations provide an answer to the most essential points at this initial stage, with regard to the changes in economic relations and economic activity. It is clear that the social problems will form the subject of other decisions. However, one should not think that the social sphere will be underestimated. To a large extent, this will depend on the activity and initiative of the trade unions. The regulations state that the collective has the right to approve a program for its own social development, and that the collective's decisions are binding on the administrative councils of the companies. An opportunity is provided, upon application by the trade union organizations within the companies, to convene meetings of the collectives or authorized representatives of the workers' collectives wheb necessary or in a specific situation. In this connection, it is very important for the members of the administrative councils not only to be competent, but to also have an acute sense of fairness regarding the people's needs. It is also exceptionally important, from the very outset of the formation of the companies, not to permit the technocratic approach that has already become so marked in a number of places, nor to allow man to remain in the background.

Comrade Petur Dyulgerov devoted a considerable part of his speech to the renewal processes within the Bulgarian trade unions. At the Ninth Bulgarian Trade Union Congress in 1982, Comrade Todor Zhivkov proved the fundamental thesis that under the new conditions the trade unions cannot serve merely as a mechanism of transmission. They are independent units, and part of society's political system, with their own responsible functions and tasks. The Soviet trade unions are also reaching the same conclusion, and this premise will be reflected in the law that is being prepared by them. In making a general survey of the period in which the changes started in the trade unions, one cannot fail to mention the enormous work completed on drafting the labor code. This code appeared as an important stage in formulating the views of the trade unions. It is true that the labor code will be changed. This is inevitable. It is

possible that there will be a move toward a new code or toward individual, relatively independent legislative acts reflecting the various forms of economic activity, which will affect labor relations.

Questions regarding the subject of the trade unions' activity, their organizational structure, method of functioning, social orientation, protective functions, and so on were of fundamental importance in the concept for restructuring the trade unions adopted by the Ninth Bulgarian Trade Union Congress. Of course, not all the draft projects and ideas were realized. The reasons for this lie both in the trade union system itself and in the objective circumstances. Conditions within society have changed rapidly and dynamically, and new views have appeared, including views on the trade unions. In other words, following the Ninth Bulgarian Trade Union Congress, major work was completed on elucidating the trade unions' image and reassessing trade union values. There are no grounds for a negative attitude toward the work carried out in those years and toward the marked striving of the trade unions to fully conform to the premises formulated within the BCP Central Committee. In essence, the trade unions are now advancing from the road they have traveled and the experience they have gained, which are equally instructive for us because of both the good things and the failures that were our companions on the way.

The bureau of the CCBTU recently adopted a practical plan for working out the directions for future restructuring of the Bulgarian trade unions, based on the postulates of the December 1987 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee and the legislative and normative documents adopted after the plenum.

With regard to the future, broad discussions and consultations have already begun with scientific workers regarding the trade union problems. Commissions in the CCBTU have been instructed to give their views and ideas on their functions under the new conditions. Many meetings will be held with trade union chairmen, trade union councils, municipal councils, and company directors. As far as is possible, the views of the trade union members will be canvassed.

In the international field, we have set ourselves the task of making a close study of the experience of the trade unions in both the socialist and the developed capitalist countries.

In speaking on the trends of restructuring, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov pointed out that a process of democratization of property and redistribution of power to the goods producers and territorial communities is now being carried out. The changes in our previous views on self-management do not affect this general trend. However, the trade unions are in their very essence an organization of democratic action. Clearer lines of demarcation are now being drawn between the powers and responsibilities relating to the management and administration of property, as well as regarding the different aspects involved in regulating labor relations. It may be expected that the trade unions will adopt clearer positions on these issues as vehicles for expressing the workers' interests. The great variety of interests that will arise will create a need for representing, agreeing upon, and defending the various types of interests. This means a new role, functions of a new nature, and new tasks for the trade unions. How will this come about in practice? The answer will be sought in the directions for the further development of the trade unions, which have already been mentioned, as well as in the process of implementing the party's new economic and political strategy. However, we should not delude ourselves into thinking that the trends will provide the answer to all the questions that arise. We are at the beginning of a long road, along which we are moving toward radical changes in society. The most important thing now is to correctly align our trade union system in the current situation. Here, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov touched on two issues.

First, on the trade unions' attitude toward the changes and the specific legal regulations, toward what is to be done next: This attitude cannot be anything but one of full support, because the company-based organization is aimed at solving society's global problems and the vital problems of the people. With regard to the specific work, the following points emerge:

—We must grasp the philosophy of the change and penetrate its aims, nature, and essence. Such a broad-scale and complex change cannot be viewed from one aspect, only from the vantage point of different watchtowers. Such a viewpoint least becomes the trade unions, which from the very beginning, from the first steps of restructuring, have been intimately connected and concerned with implementing the party's new strategy.

—A further point is the question of studying, mastering, and applying the documents in practice, in the specific conditions of the different companies and collectives. Immense powers are being granted to the companies and their leaderships. Their initial orientation toward people's needs and problems is of great importance. Regarded from any viewpoint, they are extremely important, to varying degrees, in the different industrial branches. The specific work in studying, mastering, and applying the documents under the specific conditions of the various companies must be brought, through the trade union organs, to the attention of broad trade union aktivs, to ensure that the meaning of the change is grasped by all workers. It is particularly important for us to work to draw people closer to the company in which they work. The burning issue now is not how the trade unions will act in the company as organs and an organization, but how they will promote the transition to the company-based organization of economic activity. The most important thing is to create a social atmosphere and mood of participation in this process, all the more so because

the regulations urge that the company leaderships and administrative councils, when making decisions, should rely on the views and standpoints of the workers' collectives.

Second, trade union participation in fulfilling the 1989 plan is of priority importance. Our involvement in the structural changes does not relieve us of the responsibilities for fulfilling the current plan. We must work with the people; they must be organized, because otherwise no one will have any income. Although the general figures for plan fulfillment in January are, generally speaking, satisfactory, certain negative trends that have recently appeared are not being eliminated. I am referring to the types of products, material balances, excessive consumption of raw and other materials, foreign currency expenditure, and especially the production of goods and services, which were singled out as priority tasks in the 1989 plan.

It is our primary task, said Comrade Petur Dyulgerov, to combine our efforts, using the specific capacities of the trade unions, in order to fulfill the economic tasks, utilizing both old and new means to mobilize the workers and tightening order and discipline for the development of friendly competition, providing incentives, and taking moral-political and administrative measures. There is already an established tendency for the trade unions to pay particular attention to the production of goods and services and to exercise greater social control. In this connection, every trade union organ must show initiative, find correct approaches and means, and come out with its own competent proposals on utilizing the material and human capacities. This problem concerns every branch of the national economy. Nonetheless, increased responsibilities may come to light for the trade union federations in agriculture, the food and tobacco industry, light industry, trade, and services, and for the trade union municipal councils.

In conclusion, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov stated: We must really sense the fact that we, as trade unions, have made the question of fulfilling the 1989 plan a priority task, and activate our work over the entire front. We have a field for our work, and it is an immensely wide one. We must free ourselves as soon as possible from the wait-and-see attitude, running aimlessly around, and wasting time on deciding which tasks are ours or not, because this is like the eternal philosophical question of which came first, the chicken or the egg. In the last reckoning, everything is connected with man and concerns him. If we are close to the ordinary man, then we will know what to do.

The following decision was adopted:

—The CCBTU plenum recommends that Comrade Petur Dyulgerov's speech on certain topical issues concerning the Bulgarian trade unions be used in preparing the guidelines for the further restructuring of the Bulgarian trade unions, as well as in the practical work of the trade union organs and organizations.

—On the basis of the postulates of the December 1987 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, the provisions of the decree on economic activity, and the regulations for its application, broad explanatory work is to be developed among the workers to ensure that they grasp the meaning, contents, nature, and essence of the changes, and to bring people closer to the idea of company-based organization and to the company with which the worker's labor is linked.

—the bureau and the Secretariat of the CCBTU are to implement effective measures to stimulate the trade unions's activity and increase their contribution to fulfilling the 1989 plan, especially with regard to increasing the production of goods and services.

Financial Position of the Bulgarian Trade Unions

The financial position is largely evident from the Central Council's budget. As one knows from last year, the CCBTU proposes to approve only the Central Council's own budget. Guided by the principle of the self-financing of trade union activity, the bureau of the Central Council considers it appropriate that the income from membership subscriptions be allocated as follows: The basic trade union organizations are to allocate the necessary funds for maintaining the relevant municipal and federal councils, trade union central councils, professional creative organizations, and the CCBTU. The experience from last year shows that not all trade union bodies are able to maintain themselves independently, because of which the amount of money collected in the Central Council is to be reallocated. This concerns both the municipal councils and the trade union houses of culture.

CCBTU secretary Rusi Kararusinov, who reported to the plenum on this matter, said that it is proposed that the income for 1989 be 36,328,000 leva. The same amount is provided for the expenditure side of the budget.

Funds are provided from the state budget only for maintaining the labor protection organs, to the amount of 4 million leva, and for the Scientific Research Institute on Labor Protection, to the amount of 810,000 leva. Like last year, the bureau of the CCBTU proposes that this year we should also waive acceptance of the annual state subsidy of 1,600,000 leva to assist the work of the trade union houses of culture.

The trade union subscription income is allocated as follows: Half the amount remains in the trade union organizations; 15 percent is allocated to the municipal councils; 10 percent goes to the federal councils, trade union central councils, and professional creative unions; and 25 percent goes to the CCBTU.

The membership subscription income that accumulates in the CCBTU is not only to cover the CCBTU's expenses and those of its subdivisions, but about 21 percent of the amount is to be used to subsidize those

federal and municipal councils that are unable now and in the future to maintain themselves from the membership subscription income that remains with them.

The funds of the CCBTU are also to be used to finance the capital construction and repair of the trade unions' material-technical base, including the base connected with the social development of the labor collectives. This will create financial opportunities for the trade union organs and units to engage in full activity throughout the country.

It is also proposed to provide 2 million leva for improving the material base for rest and recreation.

At the same time, Comrade Rusi Kararusinov informed the plenum that certain trade union organizations are making excessive demands for subsidies. For example, proposals have been submitted for grants of about 25 million leva for the construction, repair, and equipment of trade union properties alone. It is evident that such an amount cannot be allocated from the budget either this year or next. The position on this issue is that the necessary funds for the construction and repair of trade union properties are to be mainly provided by those who make use of them.

With regard to the payroll of the Bulgarian trade unions, staff levels are to be maintained within last year's levels, when the established payroll of the Bulgarian trade unions's apparatus was reduced by 42 percent, as compared with 1987. The administrative and management expenditures of the trade unions were also cut by about 50 percent.

The plenum adopted the proposed payroll and budget for 1989.

Jakes, Adamec Attend Women's Day Meeting

LD0703193189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee, the president of the Republic, and the federal government held at Prague Castle today, on the occasion of International Women's Day, a friendly meeting with a delegation of Czechoslovak women.

In the Spanish Hall, members of the delegation were cordially greeted by Comrades Milos Jakes, Ladislav Adamec, and other representatives. Comrade Ladislav Adamec conveyed his cordial wishes on the occasion of their international holiday. At the same time, he excused the president of the republic, Gustav Husak, because he suddenly fell ill. In a festive address, Adamec said that we have entered a period of intensive preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress; we are preparing a new constitutional, economic, and other significant documents, and that the meaning of our effort at higher economic efficiency is creating richer sources for more active social policy. He also said that we are embarking upon a principled reassessment of tasks of the tertiary sphere. We are considering possibilities of adjusting to the working hours of women with small children and are discussing improved conditions for tackling the housing problem of young people. Comrade Ladislav Adamec thanked all the women for their dedication and initiative and wished them many successes, health, and happiness in their further activities.

On behalf of the women present, Comrade Marie Kabrhelova praised the social policy and measures adopted to improve the living conditions of families with children. At the same time, she pointed to some negative phenomena that our families are experiencing.

The friendly meeting at Prague Castle then continued in meetings of women with representatives of the state and party.

Hanus Receives Soviet Minister Antipov

AU0703120589 Prague RUDE PAVO in Czech 4 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Cooperation in Electronics"]

[Text] Prague—Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, received Yuriy Antipov, Soviet Government minister charged with coordinating international cooperation in the USSR Government, in Prague on Friday [3 March].

The reception took place at the conclusion of the latter's working visit to prepare the session of the CEMA committee for cooperation in electronics development, which is to be held in Prague.

In a comradely talk, they spoke about developing multilateral and bilateral cooperation in developing electronics and data processing. They briefed each other on issues connected with our participation in the Inter EVM international electronics and data processing center in Moscow, and also dealt with certain topical problems of procedures and provisions in developing electronics within the framework of the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA member states.

Finance Minister Meets Austrian Bank Director

LD0303235989 Prague CTK In English 1853 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of Finance Jan Stejskal received here today Director General of the Austrian Genossenschaftliche Zentralbank Wien Klaus Liepscher, currently on a working visit to Czechoslovakia.

They discussed the extension of financial and banking cooperation between the two countries.

Military Experts Answer Questions on Armaments

AU0303170189

[Editorial Report] Under the headline "What Interests You in Conventional Disarmament; We Reply to the Readers of RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 18 February on page 6 published the 2,500-word first installment of answers by "leading military experts" to questions sent in by readers.

Several readers want to know how much the Czechoslovak state spends annually on armaments and how much money is involved in the announced arms reductions. In reply, Colonel Stanislav Pohoral states that "there exist relatively significant differences in understanding what to include in the expenditure on defense and security and not only among countries with diverse social systems but also among individual socialist states. In certain countries, particularly in capitalist states, expenditure on arms and military technology, for example, is classified with investments whereas in Czechoslovak national economic balance sheets these resources are classified with material technical provisions." He adds that "in harmony with the state plan Kcs28.4 million will be set aside for non-investment requirements in defense and security for 1989, that is 7 percent of the entire expenditure of the state budget." He concludes that "expenditure on defense for the years 1989 and 1990 will remain at the level of the plan for 1988. This cut represents more than was spent on ecology investments in the first 3 years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan."

Pavel Medonos from Brno wants to know whether NATO is technologically more advanced and has more modern weapons and also what the relation between quality and the number of weapons and soldiers is.

Colonel Pohoral replies that "one can talk justifiably about differences in the military qualities of certain types of armaments introduced into the NATO and Warsaw Pact armies. Each country arms its forces with military technology corresponding to its entire economic, and especially its research and development progress, and also to its historic experiences. It is absolutely impossible to categorically make the claim and to generally speculate that all the weapons in NATO are more modern and that it also has a significant technological edge in all spheres. However, the United States and NATO consider the achievement of a technological edge as one of their strategic aims. In the research, development, and testing of new weapons the United States alone spent $36.3 billion in 1988 and the FRG spent DM 2.7 billion for the same purpose." The colonel adds that "the countries of the Warsaw Pact must strive for the effective use of modern technologies and standardization in the arming of its armies and take into consideration long-term experiences, for example, in the manufacture of tank technology, artillery, and so on." He concludes his answer by saying that each side has an edge in certain categories of equipment and that "quality is balanced out by quantity in the interest of maintaining an equilibrium."

Vladimir Viktorin from Bratislava wants to know if the reductions in the numbers in the Czechoslovak Army are real or only on paper, adding that it is well-known that there is a lack of professional soldiers in the army. Lieutenant Colonel Antonin Vanek replies that "the number of soldiers in military units will be reduced on paper and in fact by 12,000 persons in combat units and 8,000 persons in support units" and that these cuts will be used to reinforce the Army's building organizations by 20,000 men. He adds that "it is true that the CSLA does not have the required number of career soldiers among its ranks. Therefore, within the framework of the adopted measures their release from active service is not at present under consideration."

Stanislav Jendrisak from Cadca wants to know if the number of students at military schools will be reduced. Colonel Alexander Zbur replies that as there are insufficient numbers of career soldiers in the Army the number of students at military schools will not be reduced. Money is to be saved by "merging some military secondary schools."

Oldrich Kapler and Martin Tuma, both from Prague, state that in relation to the size of its population the CSSR has the most heavily manned army in Europe and want to know if there is a reason for this. Colonel Miloslav Komin replies that "the CSSR is situated on the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. From a military specialist point of view, this situation can be expressed by the fact that the CSLA makes up the first defensive echelon of troops of the Warsaw Pact." He continues: "The contemporary size of the CSLA also arises out of the objective requirements of ensuring the sovereignty and independence of our country and out of responsibility for the defense of socialism." Colonel Komin goes on to say that "until the situation in the military sphere to the west of our state borders changes, that is until there are mutually agreed concrete disarmament measures, it is necessary now and hereafter to maintain the CSLA at a high level of combat readiness and preparedness."

Several readers want to know how many Soviet troops are based on CSSR territory and how the reduction in their numbers will take place. They also want to know who finances their stay in the CSSR and if the CSLA is not capable of performing their function. Colonel Jiri Svoboda replies that "units of the Soviet Army are temporarily based on CSSR territory according to a bilateral agreement concluded between the USSR and CSSR governments in 1968. According to this agreement the stay of the Soviet soldiers on CSSR territory is financed fully by the Soviet side.

"These units are in our territory, the same as in the territory of other Warsaw Pact states, to act as a counterbalance to NATO forces based in the FRG."

Colonel Svoboda then goes on to review the timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the CSSR announced at the beginning of February but does not actually specify the number of Soviet troops based in the CSSR.

Editorial Stresses Importance of 'Strong Center'

AU0703141289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Mar 89 p 1

[Editorial: "We Need a Strong Center"]

[Excerpts] The transition to the conditions of the new economic mechanism is rapidly approaching. [passage omitted] The success of the current reform depends to a considerable degree on how we succeed in changing the activity of the center.

The place and the mission of the center in restructuring, which also plays an indispensable role now, is not always correctly comprehended. Enterprises very often criticize the center, point out shortcomings in its work, complain that they are pestered by far too much administrative work, the flood of indicators, and the frequent operational interference in the plan. The criticism is justified. However, in no case should one derive from this the simplified conclusion that we can be rid of all those ills by simply restricting the powers of the center, by pushing the central decisionmaking into the background. [passage omitted]

The functioning of the new economic mechanism, which envisages the greater economic independence of production organizations, will be limited to a considerable degree precisely by the strength of the management of

social production. That, of course, does not mean that central bodies will hold talks on all details of economic life, in the way that they did in the past. [passage omitted]

There are a few sectors which concern the entire economy and in which a strong center is necessary, especially in the present period of transition. Let us take, for example, capital construction. Enterprises are complaining that capital construction requires too much administrative work, that one needs too many documents, too many papers before construction begins. Here one really has to open up scope for entrepreneurship. On the other hand, however, the center must not be outside the game but, on the contrary, must very carefully watch the structure and the volume of investments, to weigh well how much extensive investment activity we can afford. [passage omitted]

There are also frequent discussions about the insufficient quantity and range of products on the domestic market. True, many manufacturers are not fulfilling their obligations toward the domestic market, but the main problem is that the center has permitted more money to flow in the economy than goods. How many instances have we been able to find of enterprises' plans being reduced and the original volume of wages being retained with the sole purpose of preventing social conflicts. Ultimately, this measure has not helped to prevent them anyway, they only showed up much more sharply precisely in the unsatisfied demand on the market.

The center plays an exceptional and irreplaceable role when it comes to resolving structural changes. Many times one has criticized the fact that our production is too diversified, that we produce almost everything, and therefore we can hardly reach world standards in at least some types of production. However, the structure of the economy will not crystallize automatically under the influence of the market alone. Precisely the center is to determine what types of production must be developed and what must be phased out. And it must not only determine them, it must make use of all its instruments to see plans through because, for example, in the past, many of our programs were phased out, but because of the center's lack of resolve almost none were implemented.

Thus, the center bears full responsibility for the aforementioned and many other tasks. These are sensitive issues, and it is obvious that only a strong, resolute center can carry them through. At the same time the question emerges whether there is no danger of individual staffers of the center misusing their great powers.

We must seriously ponder why the criticism of bureaucratism, haughtiness, or misuse of a position is so often connected with the work of the central bodies. This is without doubt the consequence of the unhealthy developments in the past, when the strengthening of the center's authority often turned into an almost uncontrolled wielding of power. The notion has even become ingrained that whoever works in a central body first of all thinks and makes a decision in the national interest, whereas a director of an enterprise was sometimes suspected of wanting to assert group interests. This, of course, helped the power of the apparatus of the center to grow disproportionately.

How are we to deal with this malady? Administration cannot be suppressed by administrative ways, bureaucratism cannot be solved by cadre changes. The only real solution is to put central management under the surveillance of society. The central management works in society's interest and is accountable only to it. We have to admit that this fundamental principle of socialist society, which is also enshrined in our Legal Code, has not always been consistently observed. And this has made it possible that some staffers of the center consider themselves the exclusive proprietors of social means, who do not have to account for their activity to anyone. Therefore, the fate of billions of korunas used to be decided so fast and so easily.

Not only the enterprises, but the center too must change many aspects of their work. [passage omitted] Everything that is unhealthy in the work of the center must be pilloried. After all, no one in our society is beyond criticism. But it must be just criticism, the objective of which is to restore our central management to health, not to weaken it.

Dubcek Sues Bilak for Slander Over Memoirs

AU0603151689 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 6 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Prague—Former CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak—who is also well-known for having written his memoirs—may meet his former party chief Alexander Dubcek, the symbolic figure of the Prague Spring, in court: The contentious issue is one part of the "Memories" memoirs of Bilak—which have meanwhile been pulped—who has been in favor of the Soviet in asion.

As was confirmed in the Slovak capital of Bratislava on Saturday [4 March], Dubcek has sued the former Central Committee secretary for slander. Dubcek considers himself to have been slandered by Bilak, because in his memoirs Bilak states that at a 1968 meeting of the Warsaw Pact state and party chiefs Dubcek signed a document according to which the CSSR was threatened by counterrevolution. This was also the reason for the invasion by the Warsaw Pact troops. Dubcek has denied this assertion.

It is, however, unclear whether Bilak, who, like Dubcek, lives in Bratislava as a retiree, can be brought to trial. This is because, as a parliamentary deputy and, in addition, as a Central Committee member, he enjoys immunity from criminal jurisdiction. Any potential prosecution would have to be approved by both the Central Committee and parliament.

Helsinki Human Rights Delegation To Visit 6 Mar

AU0603152589 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 4 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] Vienna—This year the Human Rights Prize of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, which is awarded every 3 years, will go to Polish workers' leader Lech Walesa and to the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF), which is based in Vienna.

A high-ranking IHF delegation will go to the CSSR next Monday (6 March). Talks are scheduled with Interior Minister Frantisek Kincl and Justice Minister Antonin Caspar on the latest development of the human rights situation in the CSSR. On this occasion, it is planned to deliver an open protest to the leadership in Prague against the terms of imprisonment for writer Vaclav Havel and other dissidents.

According to the IHF, the 3-day stay is also to be used to get more detailed information from the authorities about the planned trials of opposition members Jiri Tichy and Ivan Jirous. The head of the seven-member delegation is IHF Chairman Karl Johannes von Schwarzenberg. In the CSSR the delegation will be joined by former Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek.

In Prague, experts in international politics who have been expelled from the CPCZ have formed the association "For the European Home." They intend to orient themselves toward the ideas of Soviet state and party leader Gorbachev concerning a "common European home."

Rights Group Meets Delegation

LD0803102189 Prague CTK in English 1825 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 7 (CTK)—Representatives of the committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation met here today with a delegation of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights headed by its president Karl Johannes von Schwarzenberg.

The two sides exchange experience from the work of the two organizations, particularly in the realization of the conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Confernce on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

They agreed that the meeting was useful and created a basis for the further contacts in the sphere of human rights and humanitarian cooperation.

Members of the visiting delegation met later in the day with representatives of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee.

Report of Burying Toxic Waste Concerns Citizens

LD0203232489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Our citizens are concerned about the report that 100 barrels of highly toxic substances are buried in the Austrian town of Bad Deutsch Altenburg. [passage omitted]

We do not wish to cause panic, but we want to point out the need for greater responsibility by Austria because our citizens' concerns about dioxin stored near our border are justified. This is also confirmed by Petr Hlavaty of the Slovak Ministry of Water and Forestry Management and the Wood Processing Industry.

[Begin Hlavaty recording] The Ministry of Forestry and Water Management and the Wood Processing Industry of the Slovak SR has asked its Austrian partner for official information about the quantity and type of toxic material stored at the Bad Deutsch Altenburg site, and at the same time, it requested information about the possibility of a threat to the quality of water in the Danube by this material. Up to now we have not received a reply from the Austrian side. We are regularly monitoring the quality of the water in the Danube. The samples are being analyzed at the Research Institute of Water Management and in the Bratislava national enterprise, Danube Waterway. In the event a threat to the water quality of the Danube is confirmed, the plenipotentiary of the Czechoslovak SR Government for border waters with Austria will, at a meeting of the commission for border waters with its partner, ask for effective measures to be taken so that the threat to the Danube is prevented. At present, water samples are being analyzed at the above organizations and we do not have the results at the moment. They will probably be available tomorrow. [end recording]

Austria Advised of 'Concern'

LD0303185289 Prague CTK in English 1630 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Prague March 3 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry today expressed concern of the Czechoslovak public over the possible pollution of water in the Danube from a dump of toxic waste in Bad Deutsch Altenburg, Austria, to the Austrian ambassador in Czechoslovakia.

He was asked for official information on the issue. The quality of water flowing in the Danube is permanently under control.

The Slovak Ministry of Forestry and Water Conservancy has asked its Austrian partner for complete information on the quantity and quality of toxic waste on the dump and the possibilities of the endangering of the Danube.

"Czechoslovakia has always had an extremely correct attitude to the obligations it has accepted in connection with the protection of Austria's interests and its environment", spokesman for the office of the Czechoslovak Government Presidium Miroslav Pavel told CTK. "I mean above all the Czechoslovak-Austrian agreement on issues of common interest connected with the operation of nuclear facilities. This agreement has made it possible to provide Austrian experts with necessary information on nuclear power plants being built and operated on Czechoslovak territory. At the same time we have agreed to their inspections in these power plants. Also another agreement is being prepared, which is more extensive and meets Austria's requests. We expect thus, that in the spirit of good neighbourly relations, the Austrian side will proceed similarly in case of a possibility of a threat to the environment in Czechoslovakia which could come from Austrian territory. I would like to assure the Czechoslovak public that the Czechoslovak Government will pay necessary attention to this matter", the spokesman said.

Daily Comments on Political Crisis in Kosovo

AU0303190189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Mar 89 p 7

[Julius Loerincz commentary in the "A Word on Events" column: "Nationalist Destruction"]

[Text] Columns of troops of the Yugoslav People's Army have entered Kosovo, the autonomous province in the southern part of the Serbian SR. They are to ensure the security of the population and order in the province, which has been paralyzed by strikes and electrified to the extreme by political tension. However, the troops cannot resolve for others Kosovo's political, economic, and social problems; by occupying strategic points they will not chase away the crisis which has reached a new peak recently. The crisis has been going on since 1981, when open clashes occurred in the streets of towns and villages between Albanian nationalists and the organs safeguarding public order. Since then, waves of nationalism have been having a destructive effect not only on the stability of Kosovo (it has a population of about 2 million, of which 80 percent are Albanians), but today they seriously affect the whole of Yugoslavia.

Some people are in solidarity with the striking miners and other working people in Kosovo; one can understand that. Others, again, are saying, also not without reason and not at variance with the truth, that these are political strikes, that this is the manipulation of uninformed people with the aim of maintaining the existing status quo of confrontation based on nationalism and, naturally, without resolving the real Kosovo problems. In their crusade for "ethnically pure Kosovo," Albanian nationalist forces have chased out all Serbs and Montenegrins, as well as members of other nationalities, from half of the settlements in the province, that is, from 700 villages. Since 1981, dozens of illegal organizations have been exposed in the province, and criminal procedures have been instituted against 75,000 persons accused of antisocialist activity. However, not even that has led to the stabilization of the situation...

Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who recently paid a visit to Kosovo together with Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, has said that the biggest problem is the fact that in the past, society and, especially, the League of Communists, did not undertake anything concrete to change the situation, that all action was confined to words only: "The work with the masses has been immensely neglected here—more than anywhere else in Yugoslavia, because the League of Communists has become bureaucratized, has withdrawn into its offices and institutions, to papers, forums, and speeches." And, let us add, that one has begun to frequently employ nationalist slogans from a different national millieu against the Albanian nationalism. Now, for example, one talks about the need in the provincial committee of the Kosovo League of Communists itself to overcome its division on the nationality principle.

Although in Yugoslavia they have been formally addressing the Kosovo problem systematically—of the 127 sessions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, held since the 13th Party Congress, they devoted 34 discussions, as well as several Central Committee sessions, to Kosovo, but actions were not and thus far, are still not effective enough. For example, Stipe Suvar spoke about Kosovo's certain "reserve" toward Serbia and the rest of Yugoslavia. However, is that only Kosovo's disease? In BORBA recently, Emil Vlajki stated in a very sharply formulated article that a sort of "confederalism" reigns in Yugoslavia, and pointed out that republics and autonomous provinces have not even succeeded in agreeing on a uniform system of taxation, without which a united Yugoslav market and normal economic cooperation within the country are unthinkable.

There is no doubt that the Kosovo problem also has a markedly social nature—more than 8 percent of Yugoslavia's population lives there, but the province produces only 2 percent of the country's social product. Although luxurious facilities for the bodies of political power had been built in Pristina, the capital of the autonomous province, more than half the population lives at the poverty level, or, to be more accurate, below the poverty level. It is obvious that nationalism is doing well in such soil, especially—quoting Suvar—when aware socialist forces—the Communists—are passive. After all, of the socialist countries it is not only Yugoslavia which today grapples with problems of nationalism—it is an instrument in the hands of conservative forces, but also of anticommunists, in their endeavor to prevent the establishment of new mechanisms of renewal and the further development of socialism. It is, at the same time, an instrument for introducing misunderstanding and tension into the relations among the socialist countries. There is plenty of evidence about such practices and warning signals, which arise from them.

Kosovo remains Yugoslavia's open wound. It is not easy to end the crisis in this situation, but the implementation of this task—as S. Milosevic said in Pristina—is a "historical responsibility of the present generation of Serbs, Montenegrins, and Albanians not only for the fate of our children, but also for the fate of future generations."

RUDE PRAVO Reviews Events in Kosovo

AU0703095889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Mar 89 p 7

[Petr Vana's Belgrade dispatch: "King Lazarus' Fatal Battle; Background of Kosovo Events"]

[Text] **Current events in Yugoslavia dramatically reflect the country's complicated problems, fully confirming the statement made toward the end of last year's LCY Central Committee session on Kosovo: This is a most complicated issue, and simultaneously it is the highest test of Yugoslavia's stability and integrity, and of the present and future of socialism in the country.**

The roots of the complicated problems in the autonomous province of Kosovo are very deep. This picturesque southern part of the country consists of two basins surrounded by high mountain ranges, one of which is called Kosovo Polje—perhaps because it is so fertile. It is there that a fateful battle was fought just 600 years ago—the largest clash between Christians and Moslems of all time. However, King Lazarus, who stood at the head of the Serbian troops, failed to halt the Osman usurpers and thereafter this historic part of Serbia—for a time Prizren was even the center of the Serbian state—lived under the Turkish yoke.

Many things changed after the liberation struggle against the fascists—the educational system and a medical care system were built up, and many factories were founded; but this development was far from adequate for the needs. The province now has the highest illiteracy, the lowest pensions, and the largest number of unemployed in Yugoslavia.

The new demographic explosion among the people of Albanian nationality is also connected with their persisting anachronistic way of life (which includes "blood revenge"). Traditionally, families are large, the women know practically nothing about birth control, so the population has doubled to the present approximately 2 million. Just after the war, the 200,000 Serbian and Montenegrin citizens in the province accounted for about 25 percent of the population; today they account for merely one tenth, although their number has remained substantially the same.

In this situation Albanian nationalism has grown, and in 1981 the nationalists had an open clash with the public security forces—the events were assessed as being counterrevolutionary. The goals and tactics characterized by slogans such as "Kosovo—a Republic" and "For an Ethnically Pure Kosovo" led to a mass exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins; the threats addressed to them turned into physical violence, and now about half of the approximately 1,400 communities in Kosovo are "ethnically pure."

The nationalists are abusing the obsolescence of the region and the illiteracy or semi-illiteracy of the broad strata. Whether intentionally or due to an erroneous policy, many of Kosovo's functionaries are also playing into their hands. That is why Azem Vlasi and Kacusa Jasari had to leave their offices.

During the last few months, the key issue was the enforcement of certain changes in the Constitution of the Serbian SR, which would enable the republic to carry out basic state functions on its entire territory, including the autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo which are formally part of it, at least for the time being. This primarily affects the judiciary, the laws, the security and defense activities, and even foreign relations. (We wrote about this in greater detail on 25 February.)

The proposed amendments to the Serbian Constitution which make this possible were adopted last week by the Serbian Parliament, which also includes delegates from Kosovo and Vojvodina; although the amendments still have to be approved by the provincial assemblies, their adoption has evoked a new wave of resistance and, literally, chauvinism among the nationalists. This found expression in the general strike of the working people of Albanian nationality. Even the miners from the Stari Trg mine of the Trepca combine became involved: Their lives, really endangered by the 1-week stay in the lead-bearing ore mine thousands of meters underground, were abused for political extortion. The main demands are aimed against the adoption of the constitutional changes and against those people —incidentally, of Albanian nationality—who were elected to office only 1 month ago and who are implementing the conclusions adopted by the LCY Central Committee and the SFRY Presidency on Kosovo.

It is also obvious that attempts are being made to "play the Kosovo card" in pushing through diverging views on how to overcome the economic and social crisis and the crisis within the party in Yugoslavia. These views differ not so much with regard to the orientation of solutions, which lie in comprehensive restructuring or else in the three reforms, as with regard to the forms and methods of their realization. This was also discussed at the LCY Central Committee sessions, where two names were mentioned in this context: that of Stipe Suvar, the Croatian president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and that of Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia; both are well-known political representatives. As for Kosovo, so far all the speculations have been of no avail: Last week both representatives spoke there, jointly explaining the necessary and democratic nature of the constitutional changes under preparation.

The weighty economic factor also cannot be ignored. **Every day Kosovo receives $1 million in assistance from the federal funds.** The effective use of this amount should be aided by legal order, promoted by the constitutional changes.

Kosovo, which is rich in minerals, also has "cheap" manpower. This leads to the belief—mostly in Serbia, but also in other parts of the country to the southeast of Slovenia and Croatia—that was voiced by one of the 1,000,000 participants in Tuesday's demonstration in front of the SFRY Parliament: Anton Rot, a Slovene from Maribor who had settled 2 years ago in Areandjelovec, Serbia, after having worked abroad, told a POLITIKA reporter: "It is quite clear what happened at the Ljubljana meeting. The Slovenes are supporting Kosovo because they have invested in it, and now want to 'milk' it—to gather the milk and cream from Kosovo, as they have done for years. They think that Serbia's acquisition of Kosovo would put an end to such practices."

In any case, in the period of an intensifying economic crisis in the country, the problems—no matter whether they concern nationality, or whether they are political and social problems—have obviously become exacerbated not only in Kosovo, but throughout Yugoslavia. That is why a solution to these problems lies in this economic sphere. It is also for this reason that Kosovo is said to be a Yugoslavia-wide problem.

Slusovice Management System Discussed, Praised

AU0803101589 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 Feb 89 pp 1, 5

[Jaroslav Smid report: "Service to Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] Over the course of years, dozens, even hundreds of persons from all parts of the republic have paid study visits to the Agrokombinat united agricultural cooperative (AK JZD) in Slusovice. Last year, for example, 960 people did so, plus 70 farmers from the Soviet Union. However, to this one has to add the special computer courses, because by now the AK JZD Slusovice is producing the most extensive range of computers in the Republic. Only 2 years ago, Pavel Cmolik, chairman of the AK JZD Slusovice party committee, told me that despite the great number of study visitors he has not noticed any marked changes in other places resulting from the experience of the Slusovice team.

This year twice as much interest is expected in study visits and, moreover, some ranking personnel are coming for the second and even third time, and they are sending their subordinates, too. And one more thing is typical. The view is spreading that not only the AK JZD Slusovice but the entire Gottwaldov District [in which Slusovice is located] is many years ahead as regards development compared with most other districts. Even though, as Pavel Cmolik told me in this connection 2 years later: To tell you the truth, no staffer from our district has ever been to our cooperative for a study visit. For this very reason I wanted to make use of my visit in the AK JZD Slusovice and have a chat with some of the visitors. And despite the fact that there was not much time, with the help of Engineer Zdenek Hejzlar, director of the enterprise's education section, I got hold of two of them, who were attending a lecture, both directors of state farms: Engineer Jan Ulrych of the AK JZD Sedlec-Karlovy Vary, and Engineer Antonin Barvinek of Malecov, an enterprise of the Usti nad Labem state farm.

[Smid] How would you characterize the lag in the development between your enterprises and the AK JZD Slusovice?

[Ulrych] This is already the third time I have been here for a 1-week study visit. Even though this costs me time, I always feel as if I have had a new lease of life, if only because of the enthusiasm with which the staffers of the cooperative lecture on their enterprise. For that is an indication of the morale, of people being enthusiastic about their own enterprise, a matter which then also becomes the motivation for better work performance. How far apart are we in terms of time as enterprises? Fifteen and even more years in any case, since they have begun to develop auxiliary productions that have a broad entrepreneurial sweep and have created considerable resources for their further development.

[Barvinek] To put it briefly: 20 years. As long as we maintain our existing pace we can never catch up with it.

[Smid] Do you think that this is the case only thanks to the entrepreneurial expansion and the creation of resources? In 1980 Slusovice's output was Kcs721 million; in 1987 it was almost Kcs4.2 billion; and last year it was already Kcs5.05 billion. In that case, obviously, the unfavorable impact of the Kcs350 million arising from the changes in taxes and prices cannot affect the enterprise that much....

[Ulrych] I would dare to say that it is not only the organization and the system of management oriented toward performance and profit that do it, but also the ideology that they have created for the people. The fact is that socialism has more or less taken over the production system from capitalism but has forgotten to create a system of sanctions and remuneration that would activate people, because it was thought that they would automatically become activated. Thanks to Slusovice, today there exists a system of incentives and sanctions that is strong enough and still remains socialist.

[Barvinek] Simply, in Slusovice they started restructuring 20 years earlier. And one could say that this was also to the credit of the party bodies that supported this effort. [passage omitted]

[Smid] One could go on giving details, for example, about workplaces being handed over in socialist care, about the work of the intraenterprise bank, about Slusovice's own new foreign trade enterprise, about the payment by the enterprise of employees' wages and salaries by means of bank transfers, as well as about employees entrusting their savings to the enterprise instead of to the savings bank. And also about the interesting aspects of the enterprise's social program. However, we wanted, in particular, to supply information about certain observations made by visitors to Slusovice, who will number about 1,500 this year. It is clear from their observations that it is definitely not easy to learn to apply the experience of Czechoslovakia's leading enterprise in their own conditions. On the other hand, they also realize that, whether they want to or not and now matter how, they will have to begin reducing the lag in their development compared with the Gottwaldov region without delay.

Court Sentences Suspects in Bomb Threat

AU0703125289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Mar 89 p 2

[Reports by RUDE PRAVO reporters: "Sentenced for Making Anonymous Telephone Calls"]

[Excerpts] Liberec (kr)—Vladimir Vit, Vladimir Francuz, Robert Hartl, and Milan Buril, all of them under age, faced the Liberec District Court on Friday [3 March]. During the main trial it was proven that V. Vit (born 1971) had induced V. Francuz (born 1973) to call the emergency number 158 from a telephone box on 28 January, and to report that an explosive had been placed on Mt. Jested. It was also proven that R. Hartl (born 1972) had made an anonymous telephone call to the secondary vocational construction school in Liberec on 28 January, saying that there was an explosive device on the school's premises. On 8 February, he announced in a similar manner that an explosive device had been deposited in the Plamen Club of the Socialist Youth Union in Liberec. The case against M. Buril (born 1972) was set aside for an independent hearing and decision, in view of the necessary interrogation of further witnesses. [passage omitted]

The court handed out unconditional sentences: R. Hartl was sentenced to 3 months, and V. Vit and V. Francuz to 2 months' deprivation of freedom. They will serve their sentences in a correctional educational institution for minors. The sentences have not yet come into effect.

(zr)—It was ascertained that Tomas Vrabec (born 1970), worker in the OSP enterprise in Trutnov, had been the anonymous telephone caller in Dvur Kralove nad Labem, in the Trutnov district, who on 28 February 1989 threatened to blow up the hospital. He was apprehended.

Spokesman on U.S. Removal of Chemical Weapons

LD0703181389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1637 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The announcement made by U.S. Secretary of State Baker that President Bush will have examined the possibilities of removing chemical weapons stored in the FRG earlier than 1992 was noted with attention in the GDR. Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, the GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman, declared this in Berlin today. The GDR always expressed its grave concern that the supplies of the most dangerous means of mass destruction stored in its immediate vicinity presents a very serious threat not only to the two German states, but also to Europe and to the whole world. The step now hinted at by Washington can, the speaker continued, have a favorable influence on the course of the negotiations to draft a convention on the worldwide ban on chemical weapons at the Geneva disarmament conference.

Accusations from Bonn that, in view of this advance concession on the part of the United States, the Soviet Union should now withdraw its chemical weapons from GDR territory, are of little help. Even the federal government was aware that no such weapons belonging to other countries are stationed on GDR territory. The GDR, which itself possesses no chemical weapons, neither pursues their development nor does it have at its disposal installations for their production.

The spokesman stressed that the GDR maintains its offer to enter negotiations with the FRG and Czechoslovakia immediately on rendering or keeping these three countries free of chemical weapons. It considers this to be a genuine confidence- and security-building measure in central Europe, which will promote a global solution.

Election Committee Discusses Law Supplement

AU0603134889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4-5 Mar 89 p 1

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ND)—The Election Committee of the Republic convened at the official State Council building on Friday [3 March] under the leadership of Chairman Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, for its second session. Measures resulting from the law on the supplement to the electoral law, adopted on the same day by the People's Chamber, were up for discussion. After detailed talks, the Election Committee of the Republic adopted a decision enabling foreign citizens to participate in the local elections on 7 May 1989.

According to the decision, foreign citizens are permitted to have their names entered in the electoral register at their place of residence between 20 March and 3 May, if they wish to do so. Foreign students can have their names entered in the electoral registers of existing independent constituencies at universities, technical schools and colleges. As is the case for all GDR voters, it is also possible for foreign citizens living in the GDR to cast their votes prior to election day at special polling stations that are open as of 15 April. Foreign citizens living in the GDR can be nominated as candidates by the mass organizations united in the Democratic Block, after they have been approved by the respective work and residence collectives. [passage omitted]

Krenz Speech at Session

LD0303163589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1022 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The text of the speech by Egon Krenz, chairman of the GDR Electoral Commission, while moving the bill supplementing the law on elections to people's representative bodies, is as follows:

The GDR People's Chamber has met—at the proposal of all parliamentary groups of this house in the 40th year since the founding of our worker and peasant state—to pass the bill on an amendment to the law on elections to the people's representative bodies of the GDR.

The joint motion of all parliamentary groups is intended to grant all foreign citizens who have a residence permit on the basis of an employment contract with combines, enterprises, cooperatives, or institutions of the GDR, or on the basis of study at a university, college, or technical school, or who on the basis of a residence permit have their permanent abode in the GDR the right to vote in local government elections and to run for election to the district assemblies, the town assemblies, the town borough assemblies, and the parish assemblies. Exercising this active and passive electoral right is conditional on the citizens being 18 years old on the day of the election and having been resident in the GDR for longer than 6 months. Participation in the election is, of course, their own free decision.

Our socialist state policy has always been imbued with national and international awareness. Just as the formation and flourishing of our German Socialist Republic was considerably assisted by international solidarity, so do our solidarity with other peoples and respect for foreign citizens—irrespective of their nationality and race, their ideological or religious convictions, or their social background—belong to the humanist traditions and to the values of the socialist social order in the GDR. This corresponds with our proven practice that equal rights and equal respect for everyone are valid in our country.

The anti-fascist foundation on which our GDR has developed is also the cornerstone of its accepted policy for peaceful coexistence of the peoples, for their cooperation, and for a common secure future. From this comes the constant endeavor of our socialist state power to implement the great humanist ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity ever more comprehensively.

We welcome the foreign citizens living in the GDR to our midst in this spirit.

In our country, there is no party or social organization which has adopted even a hint of any policy hostile to foreigners. This would contradict in every respect the joint anti-fascist-democratic commitment of all patriotic forces in our country and its common desire, practiced for decades, for productive cooperation for the welfare of our people and a secure peace.

Every session of this high body has been and is marked by humanist responsibility, a constructive striving for the positive development of our community, and friendship and cooperation with other peoples. Never has a word been spoken from this quarter against other peoples nor against foreign citizens. This high body and all its deputies have at all times regarded themselves as the supreme trustees of the humanist concern of our workers and peasants' state and have acted accordingly. The submitted bill emanates from this responsibility of all People's Chamber groups.

While in the other German state—the FRG—the introduction of the right to vote in local elections by several SPD-governed states in the coming years is to be rapidly rescinded by the federal government with a constitutional complaint which was rapidly prepared, and an anxiety psychosis is being whipped up—I quote—"a mixed racial multinational society," the GDR People's Chamber has before it a resolution for the participation of foreign citizens in local elections as a unanimous motion by all People's Chamber groups.

The GDR Constititution stipulates: "Military and revanchist propaganda in every form, warmongering, and the pronouncement of religious, racial, and national hatred are punished as crimes." A party of neonazis, such as the pseudo-Republicans in Berlin West, and the FRG, which has raised xenophobia to a programmatic point in its political activity openly demands the—I quote—"salvation of the national substance and biological state of our people" is inconceivable in the socialist German state.

The GDR was founded by antifaciscists. Antifascism is part of the foundations of the political existence of our state. It is handed down from generation to generation and determines the thoughts and actions of the young people who, thanks to the policy of our state, did not have to learn about war and fascism from their own experience. This policy and its corresponding corpus of laws will, in the future too, not allow any scope to the fascist demon and to hostility to foreigners in our socialist GDR.

With the revolutionary transformation of production relations in our country the rabble-rousing nationalistic German demon lost its breeding ground. In alliance with all democratic forces, work and peasant power eliminated all the roots of the chauvinistic, thus hostile to peace, ideology of German imperialism and militarism.

Here I would like to recall the principles and goals of the SED adopted by the unification party congress, in which "the sternest struggle against racial rabble-rousing and any form of rabble-rousing against other peoples" was announced.

All parties and mass organizations in the GDR constituted themselves with the same commitment.

The GDR entered into world history with the declared aim of, as its President Wilhelm Pieck proclaimed in his inaugural speech, "proving our democratic and peace-orientated cooperation with the other peoples." All the parliamentary groups of this house and our people have always kept to this.

In the democratic consensus of all forces interested in building a new society, the GDR broke at the outset with all that was reactionary, aggressive, and anti human. It placed itself firmly on the side of humanism, democracy, social progress, and peace. This position includes solidarity and friendship with other peoples and respect for all citizens of another nationality.

With the active and passive electoral right for foreign citizens in the local government sphere to be adopted today we want citizens from abroad who live, work, learn, and study with us amd among us to use their vote to make decisions on an equal footing on developments in the areas in which they are participating in social and cultural life.

We want foreign citizens to be able to represent their interests more directly in the municipal sphere and to act more immediately for the benefit of all as voters and as deputies in district assemblies, town assemblies, town borough assemblies, and in parish assemblies, starting with the local government elections of 7 May 1989. Anyone who is taking part in municipal life should have the opportunity to help shape municipal policy as a deputy. This is particularly applicable where a large number of foreign citizens work and live for a number of years. This can assist an even better development of living together with our foreign fellow-citizens and better consideration in municipal policy of the special conditions under which foreign nationals live here.

We want foreign citizens in the GDR to integrate more closely into society, in which they live with us and work for their own benefit, and in the interests of the common good, by means of making use of the active and passive right to vote.

After the people's chamber decision on the bill, the republic's electoral commission is to convene this afternoon. It is to discuss and adopt a resolution on specific measures for the participation of foreign citizens in the local elections on 7 May.

Since the electoral appeal of the National Council of the GDR National Front is aimed at continuing the dynamic development of our country via the proven course of unity of economic and social policy; at promoting the flourishing of our towns and communities for the benefit of all; at strengthening socialism in the alliance with the socialist states; at further maintaining anti-imperialist solidarity; and at supporting disarmament, peace, and cooperation, this joint electoral program of all democratic forces in our country undoubtedly corresponds in its basic concerns with the interests of our fellow citizens from abroad.

At present, 166,419 foreign citizens over 18 from a total of 129 states are living, working, and studying in the GDR.

A total of 33,789 foreign citizens have chosen our country as their permanent residence with a relevant residence permit, have married here, and have found a new homeland in our country. Over 85,000 foreign citizens are working here for a prolonged period on the basis of government agreements and are recieving work training. With their diligent labor in over 800 enterprises in our country and in nearly all economic branches, they are making an important and recognized contribution to the implementation of our course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. In line with the statutes of the FDGB, foreign workers in the GDR can become equal members of the FDGB with all the accompanying rights, obligations, and advantages.

Over 12,600 students, including more than 1,600 postgraduates, from socialist states, developing countries, and industrialized capitalist states are enrolled at GDR universities, colleges, and vocational training schools. Karl Marx University in Leipzig—without including the Herder Institute language school—alone is attended by students and postgraduates from 57 countries; the Technical University in Dresden is attended by students from 56 countries; and the Humboldt University in Berlin by students from 43 states. With their studies in our country the young foreign citizens are at the same time contributing to the strengthening of friendly relations between their homeland and the GDR.

As an indivisible element of the socialist community of states, the GDR is cultivating and developing friendship and all-around cooperation among the socialist states, true to the principles of socialist internationalism. That is a constitutional obligation and social reality in the GDR. We regard the fact that citizens of socialist states who live and work in our country now recieve the active and passive right to vote in elections for the district (kreis) assemblies, city assemblies and municipal district assemblies, as well as community assemblies as a long-term contribution to the integration of the socialist states and the strengthening of the relations of their citizens with one another.

In accordance with its Constitution, the GDR supports the states and peoples in their struggle for national freedom, independence, and social progress. If foreign citizens from Asia, Africa and Latin America now also receive a vote and a seat in local government as equal citizens that is not just a renewed declaration by our state against any form of hostility to foreigners, racial discrimination, rabble-rousing, and apartheid. With it, foreign citizens are also given the apportunity to experience socialist democracy in the everyday life of our society through direct personal involvement.

In accordance with the requirements of our Constitution, the GDR supports the implementation of the principles of peaceful co-existence among states with different social systems and promotes cooperation with all states on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

If citizens of other states living here now acquire the right to have a say in those municipal affairs that affect the lives of all citizens living in the region, and which thus also affect their own lives and the lives of all other foreign fellow-citizens, then we see this also as a practical step on the way to more trust, mutual understanding, and shared responsibility for the preservation of peace.

As a socialist German state governed by the rule of law, the GDR always and everywhere—and first and foremost on its own territory—supports the increasingly comprehensive implementation of human rights. In this we also include the right now generally extended to foreign citizens in the GDR to participate in municipal elections. Our socialist community places value not only on using the training labor, but equally on creating for our foreign fellow citizens increasingly favorable possibilities for the equal development of their personalities. This is an important factor in the development of socialist democracy in our country and testifies to the further development of the rule of law in our state in accordance with the degree of maturity of the socialist society.

This corresponds with the dialectical connection between the development of socialist democracy and the planned shaping of our socialist state based on the rule of law stressed by Comrade Erich Honecker at the seventh session of the SED Central Committee.

Citizens of another nationality who have found a home here or who are living here for a longer period of time are part of our community. For us they are not guests but partners working together with us for the common weal and fellow citizens who are acting consciously in our society and who are respected by the citizens of the GDR. Our motto, that the well-being of people is the purpose and goal of socialism, is applicable to all people. Our political credo, that people are the focus of all efforts

of the socialist society and its state—Article 2 of our Constitution—has been regarded and treated by us from the outset also as a moral duty towards all citizens living here. The motion that has been tabled on the right to vote for foreign citizens in the GDR has a firm political and social framework in our socialist society.

In this case too, it becomes clear how openly our workers and peasants' state confronts newly emerging issues, tackles them in the interests of social progress, and responds to them constructively. Once again it is apparent how purposefully we are continuing to shape our developed socialist society with new ideas and practical steps.

The bill is in line with the agreements under international law which the GDR, like the other European states, entered into in the final document of the Vienna CSCE meeting and were established in the fundamental obligation of all states to grant all citizens living on their sovereign territory—I quote—"human rights and basic freedoms without distinctions pertaining to race, skin color, sex, language, religion, political or other ideology, national or social background, wealth, birth, or status."

In line with the equal status in terms of labor and social rights given to foreign citizens, which is a matter of course in our country, we are carrying out an important step for the further poltical participation of fellow citizens of other nationalities with the extension of the GDR electoral law which has been submitted for adoption. In this spirit we see the document to be adopted as a constructive contribution to the creation of a future European home.

Linked with this resolution on the participation of foreign citizens in local elections on a voluntary basis is at the same time the task of the national front commitees to directly include our foreign fellow citizens in the democratic process of preparing and implementing local elections. Our entire society and here above all the FDGB and the FDJ, are called upon to familiarize the foreign citizens living in our country with the essence of our socialist democracy and regulations on voting rights. Needless to say we will give our support wherever our state's offer of democratic participation is accepted by our foreign fellow citizens.

Esteemed deputies, I ask for your endorsements of the bill before you.

Spokesman Denies Potential Emigres Under Watch

LD0803102889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1642 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—With reference to reports issued by the Springer-Press concerning alleged instructions to keep under surveillance those people wanting to leave the GDR, GDR Foreign Ministry Spokesman Wolfgang Meyer declared that such allegations are completely groundless. It is astonishing that the very people who are circulating the motto "Home to the Reich" [heim ins reich] should also, apart from their fantasies, be preoccupied with driving out of the FRG those whom they had formerly welcomed there as "guest workers."

New Health Minister Thielmann Sworn In

AU0603160289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4-5 Mar 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, swore in the new member of the Council of Ministers, Professor Dr Klaus Thielmann, on Friday [3 March] in accordance with Article 79, Paragraph 4 of the Constitution.

At the same time, he conveyed most cordial congratulations to him on behalf of the GDR State Council and wished him much success for his responsible position.

The ceremony was attended by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Heinz Eichler, secretary of the State Council; and Harry Moebis, secretary in the Council of Ministers.

'Closed' Central Committee Session Opens 7 Mar

Spokesman Previews Session

LD0503181189 Budapest MTI in English 1641 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 5 (MTI)—At the session of the HSWP Central Committee [CC] to be held on March 7, the party's plan of action is to be drawn up, said party spokesman Laszlo Major. HSWP president, Janos Kadar will not be present at the session for health reasons.

The goal of the HWSP is to achieve the unfolding of democratic socialism in Hungary, leading the country back on to the road of democratic development and ensuring the advancement of the nation and individual freedom.

The HSWP urges national solidarity, coalition and the formation of a democratic public life, charcterized by a multi-party system supervised by society. It also urges probity of public life, free of corruption and profiteering, and a restriction of bureaucracy.

It is the opinion of the HSWP, that an efficient economy closely linked with the world economy should be created, and the foundation of new phase of prosperity laid. This necessitates halting the country's growing indebtedness and the creation of a market economy and efficient social policy. HSWP backs the [word indistinct] efficiently, and freedom of enterprise, and agrees to society supervising the counts budgets.

The statement [word indistinct] HSWP [word indistinct] creating a world of peace, free of armaments and military alliances and therefore [word indistinct] withdrawal [word indistinct] it believes in the community of sovereign nations, equal in rank, and intends to build friendship with neighbouring peoples. The party also holds it important to maintain close links with the Hungarian diaspora. The written statement is to be supplemented by verbal comments of Janos Berecz, [name indistinct] and Secretary [name indistinct].

The second speaker at the CC session Matyas Szuros, secretary of the CC, is to discuss international issues. The spokesman also mentioned spoke the HSWP initiating the nation's joint celebration of March 15th, the anniversary of the 1848 revolution of independence.

Berecz Discusses Issues

LD0703162789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Remarks by MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Janos Beresz recorded]

[Text] The MSZMP Central Committee has been in session since 0900. They are debating the first agenda point. Correspondents Andras Kerekes and Pal Toth [not individually identified] report:

[Correspondent] After General Secretary Karoly Grosz opened matters, Janos Berecz gave his speech. He recalled that the stance of the May party conference had formulated the historical necessity for the turnabout and had decided its political direction, but that there had not been enough time to work out the details. Also, many things could not even have been foreseen—for example, that the acceptance of the idea of political pluralism would bring the institutionalization of the multiparty system within such a dramatically short space of time.

The party has formulated its stand on several questions separately. In certain cases, however, it still has to give a political answer, Janos Berecz continued. He emphasized: In the party membership, the demand for a comprehensible and practical political program has broken through with elemental force. It also has become clear that a short-term program is needed now, one based on long-lasting efforts.

[Berecz] The question must be asked: What can the program now being discussed undertake? It seeks to be the formulated action plan of one political party on the most important and timely questions and in the interest of the Hungarian nation. This can, at the same time, be a starting point, an orienting direction for the next elections.

By making the program public, our intention is to give new content to relations between the party and society, which can be followed and supervised by everyone, and which is understandable in practice as well—that is, that the citizen should decide whether he recognizes in it individual, community, and national interests. In addition, our party members, knowing and possessing this program, can represent our policy.

[Correspondent] The speaker referred to the fact that a flood of political declarations is pouring down onto public life. A program competition is developing, and citizens must be given the possibility of choice. The universal values that give an indication of national direction are freedom, justice, and solidarity. These must permeate everyday life.

[Berecz] There can only be one way of turning values into reality: democracy. It is our conviction that these concepts can be perfected through the development of socialism. For this, however, we must act; our party wants to act. At the center of its political program it places the development of a political system expressing the will of the people, the constitutional state, the security of the individual and the community; and a modern, efficient economy integrated into Europe and the world.

We declare that we also want the liberation of intellectual creative work. We need the proposals and responsible action of all creative minds to find solutions to our problems. We must free human creative work from

bureaucratic shackles, from the counterselection of getting ahead, and from paralyzing deficiencies in work conditions. We must put a stop to the stubborn, long-lasting undervaluing of highly qualified work.

[Correspondent] Janos Berecz spoke separately about the fact that in the draft action program before the party membership, the strengthening social democratic and communist spirit of reform is being forged. The assertion of communist behavior and the approach to reform in the party are not primarily narrow interests, but rather national ones. The aim is to create democratic socialism.

The MSZMP must take primary responsibility for breaking out of the crisis. This is its historical obligation. It must break with the remnants of a distorted political model that has proved one-sided and, inter alia, with the fact that in the name of continuity, inertia and apolitical behavior have ultimately become a program in themselves.

The Central Committee secretary went on to say that the party can be successful if as many groups as possible find their interests and objectives in the program. He continued:

[Berecz] As a party with a program, the MSZMP proclaims the values of freedom, justice, and solidarity. Also, in political life it must appear before the public with new political content. In this, the party is not a goal in itself; rather, it is a movement, an organizational framework, and a tool in the political struggle for democratic socialism. Democracy, the setting out of platforms, and the unity of action crystallized through debate should be determining factors in its operation.

Party members must politicize their work, primarily by representing community interests, and by their personal, professional avowal of faith, by work. At the same time, we should strengthen our basic organizations, first and foremost in election constituencies, where the political struggle and evaluation takes place.

[Correspondent] Janos Berecz said it was important for the party to rebuild itself consistently. Its self-purification should take place as soon as possible, and its moral bearing, ethics, and capacity to politicize should be strengthened.

[Berecz] Successful steps toward the realization of the program can lend it credibility. Results in overcoming the crisis not only serve the program's credibility, but also bring a turn for the better in the fate of the people into promising proximity.

Our action program, which is to be debated now, and our strategic program, which is being shaped, must be conceived in the spirit of a qualitatively new perception. Our program can be lent credibility by the people finding in it their own ideas and hopes, and by party organizations calling everyone into action to implement its contents.

[Correspondent] It is necessary to concentrate on two important areas. One is the matter of questions concerning the fate of the nation, in which an agreement of the most varied politial forces is necessary. The other set of issues is the characteristic politial relationship among the various political forces and their possible coalition.

The center of gravity of politicizing in the future certainty will lie in institutions of representative democracy, in parliament; and this will take place in full publicity and under its control.

The Central Committee secretary then also considered the economy:

[Berecz] The MSZMP takes as its point of departure the fact that the possibilities for achieving the contents of the action program depend on the performance of the economy. Without economic results, every other point of the program amounts to an unfounded wish. For this reason, we support most resolutely the government's efforts to elaborate the new economic policy program. Indeed, we also urge precisely this in the interests of making our social objectives attainable. We know that the government's performance also has an impact on the party's influence.

[Correspondent] Concluding his keynote address, Janos Berecz expressed his conviction that the action program represents the country's interests. He then referred to the MSZMP's international presence:

[Berecz] The social processes taking place in our country are not occurring in an isolated manner, but rather in a set international environment. An essential condition for our catching up and our successful development is for us to join the world's processes closely and in a multidirectional manner. Our most basic interests expressed in the program are peace, independence, and friendship among peoples.

We want to develop and enrich our settled, friendly relations of equal rights with the Soviet Union. We are believers in a form of cooperation with the socialist countries that undergoes renewal, and in a modernization of CEMA. We fulfill our alliance obligations. We promote arms reductions, the withdrawal of foreign troops, and the creation of a weapons-free Europe. We envision our future as an organic part of Europe. Our final goal, which involves an end to the existence of military blocs and the rearrangement of world processes, is an independent Hungary that is committed to socialism.

[Correspondent] After some requests for clarification, Peter Medgyessy, the first speaker in the debate, emphasized above all else that a distancing from earlier economic weaknesses would be important. Slogans that cannot be implemented must not be formulated. He pointed out that all of us are living through the process of the loss of values. There are examples of both genuine

and incited dissatisfaction. We take ill-matched measures in the economy; for example, market efforts and voluntarism appear together. The changes must be speeded up, he said, and we must stand at the head of this process.

In addition, he warned that foreign captial dries up when it percieves uncertainty, and that this slows down structural transformation.

Mihalay Korom drew attention to the fact that the program should be formulated for the period up to the next congress. It is important for the party to make the required turnabout.

Pal Tetenyi recalled that on the evening of 11 February, when some important findings of the Central Committee were made public, a certain kind of election struggle had already begun. A program that party members can represent is needed in this struggle. The MSZMP must struggle with the burden of 40 years, and it cannot make unfounded promises. It must also clearly determine its aims and guarantees.

Szuros Views Foreign Policy Role

LD0703232389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] At a closed session, the MSZMP Central Committee discussed personnel issues. The Central Committee accepted that Matyas Szuros, who is currently secretary for foreign affairs, should be the party's candidate for the post of National Assembly speaker, which is becoming vacant.

Matyas Szuros then briefed the Central Committee on topical international issues:

[Begin Szuros recording] The basic contradiction of our situation today is that, while international political conditions offer a very favorable possibility for resolving our domestic problems, which are becoming increasingly serious, and for our joining the world community and the community of European nations, international economic developments have at the same time dramatically devalued our national achievements and have made immeasurably more difficult our active participation in the international division of labor.

Linkage with the West does not diminish, and neither can it diminish, for us the significance of the socialist system of relations. We have to strive not for curbing or reducing cooperation with our allies, but we must make our relations with the Western states increasingly substantive and full of content, and we must raise them to a higher level.

The further development of socialist cooperation continues without change to be in our national interest. Amid the present circumstances, however, the path that first and foremost appears to be passable is the expansion of relations with countries that pursue a reform policy, relations which today are still decisively bilateral. It is also indisputable that our domestic and economic policy evokes the danger of isolation from part of the socialist countries. The prime cause of this, however, is to be sought not only in Hungarian policies but also in the mutual distancing from the socialist countries' practice. For this reason, we have no means of avoiding this, but at most we can attenuate it.

Our party must reckon with the fact that the newly emerging parties will sooner or later evolve their cooperation with their foreign partners. What should be avoided, however, is having in international relations an unhealthy type of competition evolve which would impede the representation and assertion of the common national interest. For this reason, the work of foreign affairs must be placed on the agenda of the dialogue between the parties and organizations as soon as possible. [end recording]

The speaker also discussed the value of the Vienna follow-up conference. He highlighted the qualitative advance in the military field and in humanitarian and human rights issues.

[Begin Szuros recording] We can regard this as significant and, with regard to its effect, as unparalleled, the creation of the consultational and supervisory system of the so-called human dimension, in the framework of which human rights and humanitarian meetings will be held yearly. The third such meeting, according to the schedule, is to be held in 1991 in Moscow. This decision represents international recognition of the Soviet changes, and it indicates the Soviet side's indirect acceptance of its commitment in relation to its continuing its internal reforms in this direction.

Among the human rights and humanitarian issues at the meeting, an important position was occupied by the national minorities sphere of topics, in which qualitatively new, forward-looking commitments were accepted.

The Central Committee members, in the January 1989 report on several events of party and social life, already received a briefing about the preparation for the interparty roundtable conference entitled "The Future of Europe and European Cooperation in the Mid-1990's." Among the possible topics of debate at the symposium or roundtable conference, which is planned to be informal and without documents, our party has considered as particularly topical—and for this reason proposed as an agenda point—the debate of issues of conventional arms control and disarmament, as well as of human rights, which forms an organic part of the European system of relations. Paying heed to the proposals of the parties called upon, the event could be held in mid-May. We will continue the consultations, with the further coordination of opinions and proposals. Then, on the basis of these,

the official letters of invitation will be issued. The preparatory work demands serious efforts, but we can justifiably trust that with joint efforts these will lead to results. [end recording]

Berecz on 15 Mar Issue

LD0703234389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Interview with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz by unidentified correspondent during the 7 March MSZMP Central Committee session—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] The topic of 15 March is again figuring among the miscellaneous items. I believe this is the case because a curious situation has come about, that a great national holiday has turned not only into a national cause, but somehow also into a large problem. Is this how you view this matter as well?

[Berecz] First, I would like to say that I do not recall that the Central Committee, when placing miscellaneous items on the agenda, might once have put the procedures concerning 15 March on it. This has happened now because, on the one hand, it is a day off from work. Thus, we view it not only as a national holiday, but also as an outstanding state holiday. Thus, the two are more special than if we were to give it one sole adjective. For this reason we would have liked for these festivities, especially now, on the first holiday, to demonstrate, by all means, national unity, solidarity, and interdependence. That is why we would have liked for us to celebrate it together.

However, if, especially in Budapest, there is no joint celebration, but if there are separate processions, then we are especially preoccupied with there not being any confrontation. For this reason, we are preparing the party and the party members politically, with an appeal, that they should participate in the celebration in accordance with the holiday's dignity and prestige. On the other hand, we trust that all of society, including young people as well, will be moderate and dignified on this holiday. All confrontation is to be avoided, for it would be unfortunate to leave a blemish on the first holiday of 15 March.

[Correspondent] Apart from exhorting people, including party members, to be calm and to take part in the celebration, is the party going to hold a separate ceremony?

[Berecz] We are not holding a separate ceremony. Party members should decide for themselves on matters of conscience, and I judge the celebration of 15 March not to be a matter of affiliation but rather a matter of conscience. If one assumes this as his own and wishes to participate elsewhere, we are not banning such an action or move.

Berecz Details Session Contents

LD0803021689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] At an international news conference following the MSZMP Central Committee session, Janos Berecz said that on 15 March in 1987 and 1988 there was no repetition of police measures; this was also a self-criticism expressed in deeds. The Central Committee secretary, in answering questions, stated: If the National Assembly enacts the party law, then the MSZMP will no longer be, and can no longer be, the only one to make proposals concerning the shape of the electoral law or the demarcation of the constituencies. It is conceivable that in 1990, in the National Assembly deputy elections, a combination of elections based on the constituency principle, on the one hand, and list-elections, on the other hand, will be realized. According to Janos Berecz, the electoral law and the party law will also provide the means for the opposition to be represented in the National Assembly, and for the various political organizations to take part in exercising power on the basis of agreement.

Janos Berecz informed journalists that in the wake of the debate connected with the reevaluation of 1956, 3,000 people have left the MSZMP. In the present situation we must reckon with a further decrease in membership, he added.

The Central Committee secretary considers it conceivable that the so-called fundamentalists would create a left-wing party. In his view, however, this would serve to strengthen the MSZMP.

He also mentioned that during the debate several proposals were made for convening a national party conference or a national working congress. The Central Committee did not reject these initiatives, but neither did it vote on them. There is still time to decide on this before the Central Committee's expanded session in June, said Janos Berecz.

Szuros Proposed for Speaker

LD0703222989 Budapest MTI in English 2155 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—After passing a resolution on the first item on the agenda, the HSWP Central Committee [CC] came to a decision on a personnel issue.

The CC members proposed Matyas Szuros, CC secretary, for the post of speaker of parliament.

Further on Session Discussions

LD0803012189 Budapest MTI in English 2341 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—After Mr Szuros' speech, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth informed the CC [Central Committee] members on his Moscow talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU CC general secretary, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, prime minister.

Following a short debate, the Central Committee approved the report and Mr Nemeth's contribution with unanimous vote.

Finally, the Central Committee surveyed preparations for the celebration of March 15. Janos Berecz emphasized that March 15 is the holiday of the nation, the state and the whole people. He emphasized the importance of appeals to celebrate it in common. The HSWP proposed that parliament should hold a festive session on the afternoon of March 14, after which MPs should lay a wreath at Lajos Kossuth's statue.

Szuros on Nomination for Assembly Speaker

LD0403101989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Interview with Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee and National Assembly deputy from Hadju-Bihar County, by unidentified "Newsreel" correspondent, on 3 March; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Matyas Szuros, who is the deputy from Hajdu-Bihar County, today visited Debrecen and took part in a session of county deputies. MSZMP Politburo member Istvan Szabo informed the legislators that Matyas Szuros has been nominated to be speaker of the National Assembly. The deputies unanimously supported the nomination of Matyas Szuros, who later gave an interview to "Newsreel."

[Correspondent] How did you receive your nomination to this eminent position in public law [kozjogi meltosag]?

[Szuros] The development came to me unexpectedly, for I have so far always worked in the foreign policy field; this is my profession and vocation. There were earlier attempts to divert me from this career, but I resisted them. My initial reaction this time was again to refuse, but eventually, after weighing up the conditions and the initiative, I consented to be nominated. Of course, I still am kind of anxious because neither the current situation of the country nor the condition of the National Assembly are such that one would receive one's nomination singing cheerfully.

[Correspondent] The National Assembly naturally has international ties, but I also have to say that these international relations are much narrower than the field in which you have worked to date. Do you think that you can employ and make good use of your experience in diplomacy in a smaller field, or are the party's foreign relations perhaps narrowing?

[Szuros] Yes, the latter is the case. The foreign political function of the party will be narrower and it will be pronouncedly limited to the cultivation of party ties, while earlier there was a direct party direction in foreign policy as well as in domestic policy and defense. Due to the party's stands, the situation has thus also changed in the field of foreign policy. State policy has to be transferred to the National Assembly, to the government, and to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

8 Mar Parliamentary Session Previewed

LD0703222889 Budapest MTI in English 2100 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—The March session of the Hungarian parliament is to begin at 10 a.m. on Wednesday, March 8, and is expected to continue for several days.

As reported, Istvan Stadinger, speaker of parliament, announced his intention to resign from the post recently. Parliament is to make an official decision on this on Wednesday. Based on the recommendation of the Patriotic People's Front, representatives will elect the nominating committee, which in turn will make a proposal on a nominee for this important post.

Particular advance interest is being shown in the principles of constitutional regulation—this will feature first on the agenda of the session. So far, 41 delegates have given notification of their intention to contribute. The groups of MPs and the standing committees have already had a debate of the draft. Based on this, it can be anticipated that legislators will take a firm stand for a wide-scale professional and public debate, for the elaboration of the main rules of the new constitution, and for its alternatives to be included. The principles of constitution regulation will be presented to the legislative body by Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice, and the evaluation of the constitution preparatory committee will be summarized by its president, Istvan Gajdocsi.

Parliament is to discuss the draft on the amendment to the labour code and the draft strike bill. A lively debate has been taking place nationwide in recent weeks on the latter subject. Several social and interest-representation organizations have voiced their opinion—shared by several MPs—that the draft, in its present form, is not yet suitable for the satisfactory regulation of this important right of employees. It is conceivable that in the end parliament will come to a compromise solution: It will consider the proposed text of the bill as a first reading.

The agenda of discussions also includes the amendment to the law on domestic trade, and the body will also hear information on the progress of preparations for the Budapest-Vienna World Expo. Information is also to be given on the situation of the Romanian refugees, and further related measures to be taken by the government. MPs will discuss parliament's projected plans for 1989, and several MPs have announced their intention to interpellate.

The proposed agenda could well be expanded by several new debating points by MPs. Thus, for instance, a motion can be expected on the re-opening of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage issue. In addition, there may

be one on the amendment to those provisions of the proposal on the right of assembly, which prohibits demonstrations to be held in Kossuth Lajos Square outside the parliament building.

Assembly Session Opens

LD0803112389 Budapest MTI in English 1040 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 8 (MTI)—The March session of the Hungarian National Assembly opened on Wednesday morning. First, Lajos Horvath presiding marked International Women's Day, and then Istvan Stadinger, president of the National Assembly, gave grounds for his resignation. Parliament accepted the grounds and relieved Mr Standinger of his post.

A nomination committee was set up for the election of the new president. The proposal of the Patriotic People's Front on the committee's composition was adopted by MPs.

Mr Horvath reported the death of an MP [Istvan Misko from Bucs-Kiskun] and the intended resignation of six MPS since the latest parliamentary session. Parliament approved the resignations and the nomination of a new MP.

Twenty-six MPs have indicated their intention to interpellate during the current session, and 13 MPs wish to ask questions from members of the government. (A reply to an interpellation has to be adopted by parliament through voting).

Grosz Admits Government 'Errors,' 'Self-Conceit'

LD0703185189 Budapest MTI in English 1453 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 7 (MTI)—Zagreb television made an interview with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. In answer to a question on whether he was anxious about the HSWP losing power with the introduction of the multi-party system, Mr Grosz answered:

'A politician should always be anxious. We committed the errors when we were not anxious at all. At times, this was self-conceit, rather than self-confidence. At the same time, I am convinced that the HSWP will play a determining role in the exercise of power. And I also believe that we shall liberate new forces for Hungarian society, if more of us participate in power. We have to engage in politics in a way that we uphold the party's leading role not with administrative means, but mainly with our manifesto, modern work style, and leaders who create and win respect for themselves. [no closing quotation mark as received]

Nemeth Addresses Agricultural Cooperatives

AU0303085089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Feb 89 p 4

[Unattributed report on speech by Premier Miklos Nemeth at the national conference of agricultural cooperatives held in Budapest on 24 February: "The Land Should Belong to Those Who Work It Most Effectively"]

[Text] "Here we are expressing our opinions about the past, present, and the imagined future of our agricultural policy with noticeable heat, noble passion, and concerned responsibility," Miklos Nemeth began his address. "In this, we are following historical traditions, because the peoples of central and East Europe, including the Hungarians, have always reacted to agricultural policy with special sensitivity and liveliness.

"The activity of our society and public life is accelerating. The reform, or the demand for reform, covers all areas of our economy. Self-propelling processes also emerge occasionally, and these are difficult to control.

"Therefore, a firm basis and confident power are essential for channeling various energies that are prone to extremism toward a well-determined center. My goal is to make sure that the government carries out its political activity in accordance with the guidelines of a reform center and that it organizes the reform-oriented forces of various social and political institutions around this center.

"This is also expressed in our intention for the government to seek a social basis among the strata of society which are committed to reform and which simultaneously reject any extremist political means that lead to a division of forces.

"We want to build our contacts with social and mass organizations, as well as with the alternative forces on this basis.

"So far, every meeting, without exception, has come to the conclusion that, in harmony with the reform processes, the renewal of our agricultural policy can no longer be postponed.

"Much criticism has lately been directed toward the MSZMP's agricultural policy, and some alternative organizations have even reached the point of totally rejecting this policy."

Canaan and Desert

"There are very few things today that do not cry out for renewal, and this is understandable. However, one cannot understand that there seems to be nothing—be it values, results, deeds, or trust—that we do not reject from some viewpoint and for some reason. One can preserve not only obsolete ideas and methods, but also

values gained by hard work. And it is not only possible but also valuable to preserve the latter. In this respect, conservatism is not a sin but rather an attitude that saves and passes on values.

"There are many people today who sow the wind when they should be sowing seeds instead. Of course, there are also people who sow seeds, but they do their job in silence. Sometimes the loud people criticize them by saying that the village people are silent, they are not engaged in politics! However, they really are engaged in politics, only that their values and their goals are different and are not something that emerges from the foamy crests of recent political waves. The 'silent masses' have a firm political will, but they do not brag. They want to feel firm soil under their feet and see a secure future lying ahead. They want renewal, but not disorder.

"In times of political waves—of a very wide variety following suppression and the elimination of compulsory uniformity—we have to rely on them, the people who have always had their feet set firmly on the ground, who even if they moved were still walking on land. All this despite the fact that, in recent decades, stormy winds have repeatedly tried to twist and pull up their deep roots. To no avail! This gives us hope that Hungarian peasants bound to the land and their ancestral homes, as well as the agricultural intelligentsia who emerged from the descendants of these peasants, will continue to remain one of the guarantees of the future. I see in them promise for the future!

"Do they also see a guarantee of their future in us? What do we have to do to give a definite positive answer to this question?

"We have to develop anew a long-term and efficient agricultural policy.

"We see and welcome the fact that several social forces currently being formed feel responsible for the country's agricultural policy.

"It would not be proper if the renewal of our agricultural policy became a means for a power struggle. We should make this renewal our goal, and the political efforts should serve this goal.

"It is not unjustified to ask: Could we and should we work out separate concepts for different economic sectors, in addition to a comprehensive economic policy concept? Obviously, we should not work out a concept which, by exaggerating particularities and special interests and applying special means and preferences, runs counter to the goals and means of the comprehensive concept. However, we should work out a concept which formulates the tasks for the successful functioning of the branch in question and which outlines the prospects by adjusting to the goals of the comprehensive strategy.

"In order to formulate a realistic and lasting concept, we should realistically evaluate the road we have covered so far.

"After 1949, forced collectivization destroyed the organic fabric of everyday life in Hungarian villages and devastated the public institutions. On the pretext of rounding up the kulaks in the fifties, a campaign was directed against the entire peasantry. We do not yet know the exact number of people who were convicted, afflicted, interned, and punished, but this number is obviously close to a million.

"The prevailing tyranny did not tolerate independent political organizations rooted in Hungarian soil. Therefore, in order to guarantee its predominance, the central power broke any political self-organization and destroyed the economic organizations that supplied villages with creative energy. This was sad proof of the fact that there can be both a Canaan and a desert here!

"The agricultural development following collectivization was not smooth, either. This development was even hindered in the 1st half of the seventies by reducing production in household plots, limiting the ancillary activity of the agricultural cooperatives, and organizing a new collectivization campaign. Then, however, the compromises in household production, in integrated small farms, and in large-scale production, as well as in the various industrial-type production ventures, did solve the problems."

A Real Owner's Interest

"The Hungarian peasants and the Hungarian village have withstood the test of many historical trials. They overcame humiliation, harassment, the brutality of various waves of collectivization, and discrimination and measures that limited their rights. After so much suffering, the Hungarian peasants made peace with their fate by gradually taking their fate into their own hands.

"Is there a rational explanation for this? We can probably also find village family traditions behind this mystery.

"Society in Hungarian villages is still much more matriarchal than a superficial observer would believe. The mother's word is often decisive in family decisions. Their common sense and integrity command respect. The prosaic reason behind their spare and thrifty way of life often lies in the fact that family finances "are handled by the woman in the family." It is impossible to renew village life without the work of women and mothers and their role of holding the community together and directing their husbands—"the men"—with wise understanding.

"Thinking about reforms in Hungary, in almost every area we come across the issue of property relations and forms of property. There is almost a uniform opinion

that the real owner of the farm is not personified in our society. As a result, there is a lack of the real owner's interest and attitude, and of results that can be realistically achieved. It is now clear that there can be no progress in the agricultural sector without a property reform.

"There are extremist views and proposals for a solution. They range from a concept according to which everything is all right as it is, to the demand for a new distribution of land. Obviously, the way things are now is not good, but do we need a new distribution of land? Whose land would be distributed, and who would be given this land? We should work the land efficiently, rather than distribute it anew!

"Our slogan once was that the land belongs to those who cultivate it. Our new slogan should be that the land should belong to the people who can cultivate it most efficiently! We need competition, mobility, and opportunities and freedom for ventures, rather than a rigid ownership structure! Only a new land policy, based on economic realities rather than ideological dogmas, can promote this.

"The development of the enterprise structure in the agricultural and food industry is clearly a matter of strategy. This does not mean that on the basis of some principled or political considerations, we should decide on the role of the state, cooperative, and private property in a mixed-property market economy, or on the proportion of large-scale and small-scale enterprises or joint ventures. Today's multibranch agriculture with its rich and varied forms provides a good basis and good opportunities for entrepreneurial organizations that can flexibly adjust to market requirements."

Adjusting to Market Conditions

"The political or administrative power does not want to interfere in enterprise-level matters from above. We will not forcibly maintain the large-scale enterprises, nor do we think that only small-scale and medium enterprises are desirable. We will not exert pressure in either direction. We want to facilitate adjustment to market conditions.

"I know that in addition to issues of strategy and concept, if possible, you are now concerned even more with the regulators and measures that affect the present and immediate future of your enterprises: the narrow credits, high interest rates, withdrawal of funds at a rate considered to be high, a decrease in subsidies that are already considered to be low, the increasing parity, and the large number of loss-making enterprises. There is strong, often tough criticism of the government over all these shortcomings. This criticism is mostly justified, but often it is incorrect. I also believe that some of the means and measures have definitely missed the target. We will correct what we can, and criticism helps us in this. But most of the measures criticized were forced by circumstances which we either cannot or should not change.

"Things that we cannot change derive from the consequences of improving the foreign and domestic balance of payments; things that we should not change are the need to increase efficiency and the fear and promise of differentiation. We cannot abandon our decision to reduce subsidies, but we want to gradually improve the conditions of credit and ease the burden of interest payments.

"We want many things, and we would like to have even more, but we cannot substitute reality for our wishes.

"The unity of economic and political reforms, which is possible today only through strengthening local self-government, is also an important condition for the renewal of our agricultural policy.

"The original intention of the 1971 law on local councils was to eliminate the system of direct orders in public administration, by increasing the independence of settlements and the self-governing nature of the local councils.

"However, the law also contained many obstacles that made it possible for centralization processes to emerge in the seventies, contrary to the original intentions of the law. Thus, the historical fate of this law greatly resembles the fate of the 1968 economic reform.

"Signs of material prosperity and changes in lifestyle are evident in the Hungarian village. However, this cannot "buy" the village population. They demand that the narrow scope of their villages be expanded and that the closed village world be opened up by changing the village power and political conditions.

"The current village self-administration only decides on insignificant and small matters. Therefore, there is a need for a vigorous village self-government which can decide on genuine matters and which can become an organic union only if the independent organizations, forums, and clubs of the village population surround and support it. For this purpose, an alliance should be made with the village intelligentsia in organizing and leading the school, public education, and social activities."

A Vigorous Self-Government

"Jozsef Etvos' warning is still valid: 'A community life with a firm basis is the only means of eliminating the individual's isolated position compared to the enormous state power without threatening the existence of the state. Only if we make enough room for people to participate in the public life of individual villages can we expect everyone to carry out his role.'

"The tasks facing village self-government are varied today. Let us work together to soon make our country a place of autonomous communities. These autonomies have kept us Hungarians in the past 1,000 years. Historical studies deal a lot with county autonomy, the free royal towns, and the autonomy of Transylvania. However, they deal less with the autonomy of villages, village parish councils, small church communities, and presbyteria. This was, however, the real organic power of maintaining and organizing these communities.

"The Hungarian village needs a new entrepreneurial attitude. We should base our new agricultural policy on the type of man who is changing from within, a man who, in developing strong entrepreneurial organizations, engages in the competition currently under way in the domestic and global market of agricultural products.

"Where will the Hungarian village be headed in the nineties? I do not think that disintegration or urbanization are the only alternatives.

"As always, there is also a third way, the golden mean: the prospects of a quality of life equal to city life but not like it in every aspect, a lifestyle that incorporates the civilizing achievements of our modern era.

"I also read somewhere an absurdity, namely that the Hungarian village will someday cease to exist by itself.

"The conditions of the Hungarian village are extremely varied, and therefore, varied development seems to be a natural prospect. I hope that all these alternatives will have a common direction: The Hungarian village will become an independent and viable social unit inhabited by peasant citizens. A rich variety of property forms and forms of management organization will emerge which agree on being innovative, entrepreneurial, and human-oriented organizations, and which are simultaneously environmental protection and community-forming organizations.

"Village people who have always loved their homeland are the only guarantee that this task will be implemented. They hold on to the land, the landscape, their habits, their traditions, and their folklore, just like they cling to songs, feasts, and dance. One can today feel this love for the homeland in these people's concern for the fate of the country, in their readiness to act, and in their spontaneous impulses to help."

Fejti Holds Talks With Other Organizations

Meets With Sociopolitical Groups

LD0403135989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] The aim of the discussions between the party and the various sociopolitical organizations is for the representatives in the dialogue, which currently is proceeding on a bilateral basis, to sit down at a roundtable. This was stated by Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti at the discussion that started an hour ago with the leaders of the Hungarian Resistance Fighters and Antifascists Association. Peter Laszlo reports:

[Laszlo] For the time being, the MSZMP has no precise concept of the sphere of the negotiating partners for the planned roundtable talks, but there are equal arguments that only the representatives of organizations wishing to become parties ought to be invited, while it is likewise not excluded that the leaders of groups that better represent society should be involved in the roundtable. The MSZMP would have as the topic of discussion the debate on the electoral law and on formulating the constitution, and the further question of whether a jointly acceptable economic and sociopolitical program should be prepared.

The MSZMP negotiating group headed by Gyorgy Fejti also will be meeting the representatives of the Ferenc Munnich Society and the Independent Smallholders Party today, while tomorrow the representatives of the National Council of Hungarian Youth Organizations, the Democratic Forum, and the People's Party are expected at Central Committee Headquarters.

Confers With Antifascist Group

LD0403140789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Correspondent Jozsef Orosz reports on the discussion between the MSZMP and the Association of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and Antifascists:

[Orosz] According to Gyorgy Fejti, a political explosion can be avoided through social dialogue, and today's discussion between the MSZMP and the Association of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and Antifascists forms a part of these consultations. However, the Central Committee secretary stated that to avoid anarchy, the party will make use of every tool, in the strict sense of the word, if this becomes necessary.

Many of the older communists are reproaching the MSZMP for not being in control of the situation and for giving way to bourgeois endeavors. However, it must be understood that this is not what is happening, but rather that the MSZMP is seeking a new socialist model, even if it is pluralism interpreted in the multiparty system, said the Central Committee secretary.

On behalf of the Association of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and Antifascists, Maron Ispanovits said that the 5,000-strong membership has indeed been surprised by the fact that the MSZMP is thinking in terms of a multiparty system. The association's membership has not been prepared for this. At the same time, Marton Ispanovits denied accusations that the association would want to put the brakes on the political and economic reform. They feel that the MSZMP frequently, so-to-say, overtakes [matters] on the inside; it has anticipated

events that will not necessarily occur. This gives rise to confusion in the association. The party is forgetting that the MSZMP's membership of 700,000 is still a leading political force.

Marton Ispanovits also described the association as a significant political force. He asked that the Politburo decision which prevents more people from joining the Association of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and Antifascists be changed. In their view, the membership could be increased by 30-30,000. They could include in their ranks the one-time Recsk political prisoners, the holders of the Order of Merit for Worker-Peasant Power, and those who were deported in World War II. On the other hand, the association has not yet been granted independence, although, as Maton Ispanovits said, in the so-called democracies this age-group—that is to say those in their seventies—are presidents and kingmakers, but not in Hungary. He reassured the MSZMP negotiating delegation that they support party policy, if only because 78 percent of the association are members of the MSZMP. This was obviously also a reason why the negotiating sides used the familiar form of address at the consultation.

Meets Ferenc Munnich Society

LD0403140889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Excerpt] The MSZMP has been continuing its discussions with political groups. At this time it is conferring with delegates of the Ferenc Munnich Society. Here is Peter Laszlo's report:

[Laszlo] The Ferenc Munnich Society would like the Hungarian organizations that group together those committed to socialism—such as the Association of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and AntiFascists and the Friendship Circles of the Workers Guard—to band together in a so-called Left Front [bal front]. The groups concerned are ready for a coalition, said the leaders of the Ferenc Munnich Society. At the same time, they proposed to the MSZMP delegation that the party implement this Left Front into its work and organization.

At the start of the discussion, which has been under way for 2 hours, Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti proposed that the Ferenc Munnich Society should also be represented at the series of national roundtable discussions, in which representatives of the party and of various political forces would take part. The Ferenc Munnich Society representatives so far have not taken a decisive stand on the proposals because, as they said, they have numerous doubts about the alternative movements and the existing parties. [passage omitted]

Opposition Officials on Party's Action Program

LD0703223389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Excerpts] We have asked representatives of the Hungarian parties about the MSZMP draft action program. They are sitting around one table for the first time, but when the institutions of the multiparty system have been created, such a meeting, it is expected, is not going to be unique. I, with my colleague Peter Laszlo, first asked the spokesmen about their first impressions of what they heard.

Gyorgy Ruttner, spokesman of the Social Democratic Party:

[Begin Ruttner recording] I see the problem in that the program promises too much; it wants too much. It would be much more rational if it tried to make specific forward-looking proposals and if the program did not portray matters as a universal paradise. Thus, for me, it has no real credibility, especially because, in essence, these by and large have been the principles for the past 40 years. Practice, however, did not show that the MSZMP took these seriously. [end recording]

Vilmos Bereczki, representative of the Smallholders Party:

[Begin Bereczki recording] I personally welcome the fact that the speaker has recognized that the multiparty system has become institutionalized in Hungary, and that he has also recognized the significance of this institutionalization. I can also agree with the sentence of the keynote speech in which he perceived progress on the basis of democracy. A comprehensive definition of the term "socialist democracy" could only be arrived at if we are at last provided with the concrete explanation of this image of socialism. [end recording]

Janos Marton, representative of the People's Party:

[Begin Marton recording] In terms of our alternative party, Janos Berecz's speech does not encourage either any particular sympathy or fear. [passage omitted]

What we need is thoughts about modern program declarations and not such old-fashioned promises or concepts. This is because phrases such as the people's will do not sound credible enough. [passage omitted] [end recording]

But surely you, too, consider it a kind of innovation that in the view of the MSZMP, concentration must be focused on the point that the most varied political forces should agree on issues of national import. On what issues do you see the need for this, Janos Marton, representative of the People's Party?

[Begin Marton recording] Well, first of all, the issue is connected to the future stands of the 15-million strong Hungarian nation related to the stand professed by the entire nation in a united fashion. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Gyorgy Ruttner:

[Begin Ruttner recording] First of all, what is such an absolute issue of faith in Hungary today is the issue of halting poverty. Only this can be the number one task in Hungary today. [passage omitted]

Really, this is what I find lacking in the MSZMP program: that it still does not recognize—at least on the basis of the contents of this keynote speech—that this is the real issue. In the end, the present program is a confusing mixture of pleasant and desirable things. [passage omitted]

Janos Marton:

[Begin Marton recording] The effect of the May party conference has in practice bogged down in the towns, while it reached the villages only here and there. Therefore, the People's Party believes that it is impossible to wait until the renewal of the party is completed throughout Hungarian public life, especially as this will take too much time. So, instead of this, the election of local self-governments must be begun and must be completed before the national elections. And the image of a community society which is new, which is built from below, must appear here. [end recording]

Envoy to Kabul Operating Out of New Delhi

LD0703174289 Budapest MTI in English
1516 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—The French AFP news agency, quoting diplomatic sources in Kabul, reported on Tuesday that a Hungarian and a Polish diplomat have returned to Kabul. The spokesman of the Polish Embassy in Kabul reconfirmed that the consul had arrived on Monday. The French news agency recalled that most countries temporarily closed their embassies in Kabul in the days before the Soviet troop withdrawal ended, and Hungarian and Polish diplomats also left. According to the diplomatic sources, who did not wish to be named, the Soviet Union encouraged the return of the diplomats.

A staff-member of the Hungarian news agency MTI requested information from the Foreign Ministry with regard to the AFP report. It was stated that under the earlier decision and due to security considerations, Hungary is still temporarily discontinuing the operation of its diplomatic representation in Kabul. The Hungarian ambassador in Afghanistan continues to be posted in the region, following the events from New Delhi. Officials of the Foreign Ministry reconfirmed that the date of the ambassador's return to his post depends exclusively on the Afghan internal circumstances.

Austrian Official's News Conference After Talks

LD0603233289 Budapest MTI in English
2220 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—Austria follows the Hungarian reform process with great interest and sympathy—said Austrian Federal Minister Heinrich Neisser, at a press conference held on Monday in Budapest. He stressed that Austria attaches particular importance to expanding cooperation between the border-zone areas.

Mr Neisser held official talks with Minister of the Interior Istvan Horvath, and with Andras Derzsi, minister of transportation, telecommunication and construction, and Miklos Varga, state secretary of the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Water Management.

The Austrian minister also said that following his talks in Budapest, he hopes another Austrian-Hungarian border crossing station can be opened within a year or two. The Vienna government would also like to open an "Austria House" in Budapest, which would house not only a cultural institute, but also an economic centre.

Factory Strikes Continuing Throughout Country

LD0603224489 Warsaw PAP in English
1904 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 6—Pay disputes and resulting protest actions staged amidst negotiations keep being reported from some enterprises across Poland.

Monday was the 8th day of a sit-in at the Szczecin branch of the cement transport and forwarding enterprise where talks continued two days between representatives of a strike committee and administration to no avail.

A strike at the Marchlewski cotton industry works in Lodz continues as negotiations began Monday morning have produced no results. Talks will resume later today.

Preliminary agreement ended a three-day protest action at the locomotive department Wzgorze Hetmanskie in Szczecin. The sides agreed that the main postulate to eliminate what the workers called excess pay disproportions of locomotive drivers on different types of trains will be considered by the end of May, this year.

Not a single bus has left the PKS road transport depots in two towns south of Warsaw, Pieseczno and Otwock, because of a strike which caused cancellation of 1,068 connections today. The strikers demand a rise up to 300 zlotys per hour (they now have about 170/h) and an elaborate system of extras. The administration maintains that drivers working nearly 240 hours a month, including overtime hours, would then get a rise by 89 thousand per month, which is almost as much as bus drivers earn now (over 95 thousand) whereas the financial condition of the enterprise allows pay rises by about 13,000 zlotys on the average.

The Board of the Federation of Forestry Workers' Trade Unions adopted a resolution proclaiming a collective dispute between the Federation and chief director of the state forests and minister of farming, forestry, and food economy concerning the forestry workers' wages.

The resolution reads that workers of the state forests and national parks should have wages guaranteed at least at the level planned for the socialised economy sector in 1989.

The Board of the Federation at the same time asked workers to suspend protest actions (whatever result of negotiations) until the roundtable conference's end.

Wloclawek 'Ursus' Workers Strike Over Pay

LD0603202489 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1500 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] A sit-in strike began this morning at the "Ursus" Mechanical Works in Wloclawek. Over 1,500 employees of the enterprise are taking part, and the main demand put forward by the strike committee, set up on the initiative of a trade union, is a pay raise of Z25,000 per person. The enterprise director said that pay raises have already amounted this year to over Z15,000 and the enterprise can give new pay rises, but not exceeding Z10,000. This is already the second strike by the "Ursus" workforce in Wloclawek in the past 6 months.

Authorities Approve Warsaw Student Marches

LD0803091989 Warsaw PAP in English
1752 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—Local authorities of the central district of Warsaw issued a permission for Warsaw University students to stage two marches to the monument to famous Polish romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz in the Krakowskie Przedmiescie street on March 8.

The first march, starting from the nearby university yard, is to be staged around noon and the second one, following a mass at the university church, in the evening.

The decision followed a formal application and assurances on the part of the university rector that the organiser had obliged themselves to keep peace and order during the marches.

Krakow Rectors' Statement on Student Unrest

AU0703160989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
2 Mar 89 p 4

[PAP headline: "Statement Issued by the Council of Rectors of Krakow Colleges"]

[Text] The Council of the Rectors of Krakow Colleges has provided much practical proof of its readiness to go halfway toward satisfying students' demands and needs. This has been reflected in, among other things, the promotion of the idea of student self-government and pluralism in student organizations and in support of proposed changes to teaching programs. Moves in this direction, which have been favorably received by the academic community, have been endangered by the events that took place in Krakow from 17 through 24 February. Demonstrations that were initiated by certain student organizations resulted in events taking place in our city that can only be deplored. The council expresses its disapproval of forms of protest that lead to disturbances in the streets. They cause aggression and hatred to escalate among all those who take part in them. All student gatherings should be confined to college grounds and should have the approval of college authorities.

In particular, the council notes with disgust the clearly anti-Soviet scene that took place on 23 February. It is evidence of a lack of elementary culture and a lack of a sense of civic responsibility on the part of those involved in the incident.

The council expresses its regret to the minister of national education who, while visiting our city at the invitation of the rector of the Jagiellonian University, was forcibly detained in a Krakow high school by a group of students.

The events described above run counter to the idea of national accord and create objective difficulties for the "roundtable." All those participating in it have called for the preservation of social calm.

The council believes that authorities of individual colleges will take appropriate steps and find ways of reducing tension within the student community and for creating conditions for the continuation of talks in accordance with the principles that have been drawn up by the Krakow community. This would be facilitated by a rapid decision to register those student organizations that declare that they will observe the law and academic traditions, which particularly applies to the Independent Association of University Students, and by a rapid response on the part of the appropriate ministries to the demands that have been voiced by students.

Commentary Condemns Krakow Student Protests

AU0803103189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 89 p 6

[Untitled commentary signed "DIK"]

[Text] Our readers have provided a uniform assessment of the Krakow excesses by an irresponsible group of students: "That is not the way to national accord." We fully subscribe to such a view.

On the subject of this regrettable matter, we are publishing a letter from the minister of national education, a statement by the government press spokesman, and another statement by the Senate of the Jagiellonian University. We express full solidarity with the first two items.

TRYBUNA LUDU has been presenting objective and extensive information on events in the country, leaving out nothing. In accordance with this principle, we reported on the events in Krakow on Friday immediately after they had occurred.

We did this honestly and objectively, which cannot be said of Radio Free Europe, whose "special reporter," Wojciech Mazarski, said: "The militia threw stones. In other words, the militia and the demonstrators threw stones at each other...."

We asked General Jerzy Gruby, chief of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs, to comment. He told us:

"The militia has never thrown stones because there are legitimate forms of pressure which it may use in order to safeguard law and order. Tear gas grenades were used during the 24 February events. However, our men were showered with stones which caused them physical injury and damaged their equipment."

Unfortunately, the Krakow events also involve the use of slogans that seem unequivocal, but in fact are not so. For example, the slogan "There is no success without the NZS" [Independent Students Union] may sound catchy, but the question arises: What kind of success?

We respect young people's rights, but we feel it is our duty to say that we want the success of a stable Poland, the road which is determined not by emotional outbursts in the streets, but by common sense.

On our behalf and on the behalf of hundreds of our readers, we expect the academic authorities and the students to comply.

Miller Responds to Warsaw University Students

AU2802173189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 2

[Report by Andrzej Miklaszewicz: "Discussion Suddenly Interrupted"]

[Text] A banner stuck to the main gate of Warsaw University says: "The questions addressed to Central Committee Secretary Miller remain unanswered."

"What questions?" I ask two students waiting outside the hall.

"The ones that were asked during the young people's discussion at the Central Committee at the beginning of January."

Inside the hall, the preparations for the meeting with Central Committee Secretary Leszek Miller take a long time. There are showers of Polish Student Union leaflets carrying a cartoon with the warning that Poland should not be turned into another Hollywood.

Jaroslaw Osicki, a student of veterinary medicine, says: "The PZPR only represents the interests of the apparatus, in other words the state administration and factory managements. When will we have full democracy?" As soon as a TV camera focuses on him, someone thrusts a KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] bulletin into his hand, and there are voices telling him to throw it away.

Piotr Skwiecinski from the NZS [Independent Students Union] says: "At the Central Committee meeting in January, I asked when the NZS would be made legal. I got no reply, and I do not think the roundtable will provide a reply, either."

Someone else asks: "Those taking part in a demonstration in Krakow were beaten up. Is in not time that the militia stopped beating demonstrators?" This question met with cheers and the stamping of feet.

Leszek Miller replies: "I see you are all in good form. During the Central Committee meeting, many of you were afraid that anyone with the wrong way of thinking would be led off to the militia station and given the treatment. But we do not do that. As for the registration of the NZS, let me refer to the words of Lech Walesa, who said that the NZS ought to be registered on the basis of the associations act, which has yet to be introduced. However, the NZS delegation at the 'roundtable' said that the union should be registered before the act comes into force. However, if talks on this subject are accompanied by demonstrations, the registration of the NZS is bound to be delayed. No one likes having a gun held to his head. The decision to register the union will be made by a state administrative body or by a court of law. If you do not wish to reveal the NZS program, that will only delay its registration."

Someone in the hall shouts: "Were it not for the strikes, there would be no 'roundtable' today." To this, L. Miller replies: "The extent of any crisis is measured by the success of the demagogues. We have a profound crisis. There has been a mobilization of extremist forces intent on disrupting the 'roundtable'."

L. Miller calls for the creation of a joint youth lobby, to which Zbigniew Kozak, chairman of the university student self-management body, says: "It is not a lobby we want, but the kind of state structures in which we can feel at home."

L. Miller replies: "If you want to fight for your own interests, you have to be wherever your interests are determined. If all you say is 'no,' you are letting society push you around."

Suddenly, the discussion is interrupted. Piotr Ciompal, a participant in the roundtable sub-team for educational affairs, bursts into the hall and says: "The government side of the educational subteam never said whether the NZS is going to be registered. Therefore, I demand an answer now. If I do not hear one, I ask all our colleagues to leave the hall immediately."

Before the Central Committee secretary can take the microphone, everyone starts chanting "NZS! NZS!" Chaos ensues. The NZS members in the hall leave it. They hand out leaflets saying: "No rapprochement." The leaflets denounce Walesa and call for an end to the "roundtable." They are signed: "Independence Party" and "Fighting Solidarity."

Is this a provocation?

Government Issues Statement on Farmers' Protest

AU2802153889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Feb 89 p 2

[PAP headline: "Who Is Violating the Law?"]

[Text] The Government Press Office reports that:

The main council of the National Association of Farmers, Farming Circles, and Farming Organizations has sent a letter to the Council of Ministers in which it accuses the state administration of failing to observe the law of 8 October 1982 on social and vocational organizations for farmers, expresses support for the protest action being staged by the voivodship Council of the Farmers Association in Elblag, and threatens to spread the action to cover the entire country.

Thus, the path of public protests has been chosen in preference to the path of negotiations. This does not aid accord and social stability.

1. The justification for the protest action is said to be the failure of the Warsaw Voivodship social arbitration court to resolve the dispute with the minister of finance over a reduction in procurement prices for farm produce.

The fact is that the dispute has not been settled, and the judge has decided to suspend making a final decision in view of the need to obtain more expert opinions. Proceedings were suspended by the Association of a Farmers, Farming Circles, and Farming Organizations on a previous occasion and were then instituted a second time.

It should be remembered that in 1988, in accordance with a Sejm resolution, the government reduced the income disparity between the farming and non-farming populations by 8 points, that is, from 83.4 percent in 1987 to 92 percent in 1988. The improved income ratio came about as a result of a three-fold increase in procurement prices and the introduction of price rebates for mineral fertilizers and pesticides.

In order to find a lasting solution to the problem of prices and incomes in agriculture, the government has proposed—and it has done so at the "roundtable"—introducing market mechanisms into the food economy, which would involve the deregulation of procurement prices for farm produce, thus enabling producers to exert a direct influence on price levels. This solution is viewed favorably by members of the "roundtable" sub-team for agricultural affairs.

2. A further reason for the "protest" is said to be the failure to rescind the decision to sell tractors on a down-payment basis. The behavior of some producers could be deemed monopolistic, in this case "Ursus" exploits its position in an unstable market. On the other hand, this sales system has only been introduced on an experimental basis for the first 6 months of this year, and only applies to 500 tractors of the Massey-Ferguson type.

Nevertheless, farmers are interested in this form of purchasing. Thus, there are grounds for asking whether the interests of those who are freely making down payments can be disregarded.

3. The main Council of the Association of Farmers, Farming Circles, and Framing Organizations maintains that state administrative organs at various levels do not seek the opinion of the association when making important decisions affecting agriculture and the countryside.

However, no concrete instance of a failure to discharge the legal obligation of seeking opinions has been cited.

Thus, the question that should be asked is who is breaking the law of 8 October 1982 on social and vocational organizations for farmers. This is because the law requires appropriate procedures to be followed before a protest action can be staged, and this is something that the Associations of Farmers and Farming Organizations are failing to do.

The government believes that the many difficult problems faced by farming and the countryside can and should be solved by way of agreement and effective joint action.

That the government upholds the principle of partnership will be further evidenced by the meeting between the leadership of the Association of Farmers, Framing Circles, and Farming Organizations and Vice Premier Kazimierz Olesiak, which was agreed previously. This will take place before the Sejm session at which issues pertaining to agriculture will be examined.

Walesa, Kiszczak Discuss Roundtable Issues

LD0703183389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Another meeting between General Czeslaw Kiszczak and Lech Walesa took place in Warsaw on 7 March. Participating in the meeting were the cochairmen of the roundtable working teams: Bronislaw Geremek, Aleksander Kwasniewski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Janusz Reykowski, Romuald Sosnowski, and Witold Trzeciakowski; as well as Zbigniew Bujak, Stanislaw Ciosek, Andrzej Gdula, Mieczyslaw Gil, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Jan Janowski, Janusz Jarlinski, Lech Kaczynski, Bogdan Krolewski, Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Ireneusz Sekula, and Jerzy Uziemblo.

Representatives of the church also took part in the meeting: Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski and Father Alojzy Orszulik.

Issues on which people hold diverging opinions were discussed during the meeting. It was assessed that conditions exist for further convergence on the main issues of the dialogue as well as the directions of the proposed political, economic, and social reforms including the registration of the Independent Students' Union. It was agreed that by 20 March working teams and subteams will end their work, so that on 3 April this year a plenary meeting of the roundtable can take place.

Onyszkiewicz on Chances for Successful Talks

LD0803001589 Warsaw PAP in English 2250 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—"The roundtable has already got three legs," Lech Walesa's spokesman Piotr Nowina-Konopka told journalists here today as he commented on Tuesday's Kiszczak-Walesa meeting.

He stressed that a communique from the meeting shows that a political decision had been taken regarding the registration of NZS [Independent Students Union].

Having agreed to register Solidarity and rural Solidarity the decision to legalise the student organisation is adding "the third leg" which prevents the roundtable from wobbling, as Walesa had put it in one of his previous speeches.

"This is a step in the right direction," participant in the debates and member of the NZS Piotr Czerwiec said adding that "it will certainly contribute to easing the tense situation in higher schools."

The press conference's host Janusz Onyszkiewicz was asked by PAP to comment on Tuesday's statement of government spokesman Jerzy Urban that March 7 and subsequent days are crucial for the roundtable conference.

"I hope Mr Urban does not measure the chances for success of the roundtable conference with what goes on in working teams because prognosticating there would be discouraging. Maybe the minister had in mind the effects of Kiszczak-Walesa meeting in which other representatives of the coalition-government and Solidarity-opposition sides also took part," Onyszkiewicz added.

It was said during the press conference that the subteam for farming had reached agreement on a number of issues including a common position on the question of food economy financing, which testifies to a progress in the work of this group. According to Onyszkiewicz, no progress has been made by the subteam for reforms in the law and courts of law.

Roundtable Team for Union Pluralism Meets

LD0603231189 Warsaw PAP in English 2107 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 6—Proposals of changes in the law on trade unions which will be needed in the conditions of trade unions' pluralism were the subject of the 4th meeting of the roundtable team for trade unions' pluralism which held its debates here today co-chaired by Aleksander Kwasniewski and Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Deputy government press spokesman Adam Dunalewicz briefed PAP on the course of the debate.

In the course of today's discussion in the working group set up by the team to draft the amendments to the law on trade unions, the sides agreed upon proposals of all provisions which would enable the registration and functioning of a nation-wide would enable the registration and functioning of a nation-wide trade union associating workers of various branches.

There has also been some progress in the matter which caused greatest controversies so far, namely that of reaching the agreement by trade unions functioning within one plant as to their joint stance and setting up of a joint representation for talks with the management and self-government bodies on matters concerning collective interests of the crew.

The sides agreed on the proposal of the following provision: "In case requiring agreement or presentation of a joint stance with trade union organizations as concerns norms of the legal regulations, the organizations in questions will present a joint stance."

Still unsolved is the question of consequences in case when trade unions fail to reach a concerted stance. Kwasniewski's arguments were that the point is not to paralize a director of an enterprise, to avoid situations in which differences of views between trade unions could lead to conflicts in work establishments on pay conditions and these, in turn, to political conflicts.

Meanwhile, OPZZ delegation and representatives of the opposition-Solidarity side said that it is necessary to seek such solutions which would not diminish rights of trade unions as concerns pay questions, the matters of basic significance for workers and trade unions. Mazowiecki stressed that the side represented by him is interested in reaching consensus, but it is at one with OPZZ that one should not deprive the trade union representation of workers of its rights in such important matters.

In the situation of persistent discrepancy of views, the sides agreed to submit the matter under the discussion of the working group, again.

The team assumed univocal stance that it is necessary to cross out Paragraph 3 of Article 60 of the Trade Union Law under which the Council of State is authorized to determine the deadline for the existence of one trade union organization in the plant.

Presented were initial concepts for discussion on simplication of regulations concerning collective disputes and the right to strike.

The next meeting of the team has been set for March 10.

Subteam for Law Reform Discusses Criminal Code

LD0803030789 Warsaw PAP in English
0027 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—Lukasz Balcer and Adam Strzembosz cochaired the debates of the roundtable sub-team for the reform of law and courts of law which met here today for the sixth time.

Participants in the meeting discussed the possibility of amending some regulations concerning criminal proceedings. The opposition-Solidarity side believes that irrespective of the prepared reform of penal legislation there is an urgent need to introduce changes which would largely strengthen civic guarantees. The solutions suggested by this side meet half-way the decisions of the civic and political rights covenants ratified by Poland.

Representatives of the coalition-government side did not negate the necessity of changing individual institutions and norms of criminal proceedings. However, they pointed out that such changes should be carried out in a complex way so as not to violate the legal order of the Criminal Proceedings Code.

Arrest pending trial was one of the detailed matters discussed. The sides agreed that arrest pending trial should not, in principal, exceed one year and its extension over this term would be possible only for a strictly definite period of time necessary for the conclusion of investigation proceedings and exclusively at a motion of the general prosecutor.

The sides also reached agreement upon the principle that the court of appeal cannot pass a guilty verdict to a person acquited by a lower court while the supreme court cannot mete out capital punishment if such a verdict was not ruled by the voivodship court. Consensus was also reached on the principle that prosecutor must not limit the right of defendant to contact his defence lawyer.

By the end of the debates, the co-chairmen told PAP:

Lukasz Balcer: We have reached agreement on three questions, i.e. the longest arrest pending trial should not exceed one year, certainly the provision would not concern exceptional cases. The second question concerns the broadening of the civic right to defence. Our postulate is that prosecutor must not refuse defendant contacts with his defence lawyer. We also decided that in cases in which the aquital verdicts are passed by the lower courts, the higher court must not rule verdicts which would close the proceedings. We are at one that legal regulations which are binding in these three areas should be promptly amended.

Adam Strzembosz: Other issues remained unsolved. Being detained by law and order forces is extremely painful for everybody. The Polish law allows police to detain a person for 48 hours. We suggested that it should

be reduced to 24 hours. No agreement has been reached on this issue. We also demanded that a suspect be informed about reasons of his detention in written form.

Arrest pending trial is an equally important matter. In line with the provision in the political rights convenants such arrest should be applied by courts. In Poland it is used by prosecutor. Maybe in future we shall reach agreement but the things look uncertain now.

Onyszkiewicz Views Mass Media Subteam Progress

LD0403215889 Warsaw PAP in English
2040 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 4—Today's debate at the roundtable subteam for mass media was entirely barren: no progress was made whatsoever, the spokesman for the opposition-Solidarity side Janusz Onyszkiewicz told a press conference here today.

Janina Jankowska made the above statement more precise by saying that no progress was made as to joint arrangements but the day was not a loss as a whole as the opposition studied a draft document presented by its counterpartners. The working groups for radio and television, for legal-and- censorship matters, and for underground publications now have a written basis for detailed discussions, she said. However, she was critical of the statement included in the document speaking of the integrity of radio and television.

Jankowska also said the coalition-government side has failed to take a stand on their opposite side's proposal on the way of using mass media in the period separating the roundtable from parliamentary elections.

Dariusz Fikus said the opposition-Solidarity side does not offer small steps but a new information order in Poland with special emphasis on liquidating the monopoly in radio and television and RSW Prasa publishers.

Grzegorz Boguta, who represents illegal publishers, said the sides argue about wording. The coalition-government side—he said—wants the illegal publishing to disappear, while illegal publishers want to liquidate the reasons underlying its existence, namely the barrier of censorship on freedom of speech. Boguta voiced an opinion that the roundtable can remove those barriers.

Professor Jerzy Regulski, representing the working group for territorial self-government, said his group is agreed as to the need for introducing genuine self-government, but the government-coalition side does not agree to abolishing the double role of People's Councils (as representatives of the local communities and of the state) and to fully subordinating local offices of the lowest rank to People's Councils. Regulski welcomed the agreement on that the next local elections will be based on an entirely democratic electoral law. He stressed that new associations (like Solidarity Union of Private Farmers) should also take part in the elections and in ruling the country.

Broadcasting Chief Sees End of State Monopoly

LD0303193189 Warsaw PAP in English
1642 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 4—The Polish Radio and TV authority chief has admitted that some changes are necessary in radio and television and he has not ruled out giving up the state monopoly in this field in the long run.

Said Janusz Roszkowski: "In the search for measures that would lead to giving the Polish television and radio a more pluralistic character we should rather follow the example of solutions adopted by other countries which have reached a relatively high degree of institutionalised pluralism during hundreds of tens of years." Here he was making reference to Austria, the FRG, Great Britain, Spain, and Italy.

"The opposition-Solidarity side is eager (...) to make a second autonomous or independent television within the public TV. This would be, to say the least, a strange solution unknown in the world," Roszkowski said.

The noisy criticism of radio and television, articulated by various groups, fails to correlate with the results of opinion polls which showed last December that some 36 per cent of TV viewers consider its programme as good or very good, and only 9 per cent say it is bad, while the others find it acceptable though not impressive.

"In the light of opinion surveys the TV and radio are hardly among those fields of public life which cause special public discontent. I think, opinion polls do not suggest the need to make radical changes in radio and TV programming. But there is a need for evolutionary changes, possible under the unharmed integrity of public radio and television, to publicism [as received] and information providing fuller presentation of various viewpoints and attitudes," Roszkowski said.

"One can hardly imagine that (state monopoly on radio and television) is an unchangeable rule of fundamental role in the political system. In a near or more remote future the legislator may come to a conclusion that the state should give up this monopoly and pass the right to make and broadcast TV and radio programmes by local or even religious communities.

"As for the guarantees to the interests of the opposition during the pre-election time, I am for the allocating of special transmission time to the disposal of all the political forces involved in the elections, while the State Electoral Committee would subdivide this time among them. This is so in state-run radio and television networks in many European countries.

"I have an impression that not all the critical remarks addressed to the Polish radio and TV by the government-coalition side do deserve attentioon. Some people very much enjoy watching themselves on a TV screen and

they imagine others long for that too," Roszkowski remarked adding that increasing of TV the presence of what he termed as allied forces could be done in two ways: through increasing the total broadcasting time, which he said is unfeasible, or through cutting short other non-political programmes, which he described as being against the audience.

Subteam for Agriculture Holds Fourth Session

LD0803030389 Warsaw PAP in English
0020 GMT 8 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—The fourth session of the roundtable sub-team for agriculture, co-chaired by Stanislaw Sliwinski and Andrzej Stelmachowski, was held today, representative of the Government's Press Office, Przemyslaw Wisniewski, told PAP.

Opening the meeting, Stanislaw Sliwinski asked the participants to concentrate first and foremost on the proposals elaborated earlier by drafting teams of concrete stipulations concerning the restructuring of the national economy in favour of agriculture and food economy, the infrastructure of villages and land utilization, self-government, and social problems of rural community.

The appeal to bring the sub-teams work to an end was received with understanding although a broad and polemic discussion accompanied the arrival at consensus in some questions. The issues of financing the food economy, among other things, aroused a lively exchange of views and arguments.

In the course of further discussion the need was indicated for creating legal, organizational, and economic foundations for a real regional and local self-goverment in villages, rural communes, and towns.

A discussion was also started on the drafts of two further arrangements concerning the elimination of monopolies in the economy and a broadly received rural infrastructure. The discussion over these issues will be continued on Wednesday March 8.

Politburo Member Reykowski Comments on Talks

AU0703150289 Vienna DER STANDARD in German
7 Mar 89 p 3

[Interview with Janusz Reykowski, member of the Politburo, by Krzysztof Janowski in Warsaw: "The System No Longer Works"; date not given]

[Text] Warsaw—Janusz Reykowski, born in 1929, is a professor of social psychology and a behavioral scientist. He has been a member of the PZPR Politburo since December last year. The liberal-minded scientist, who has often harshly criticized his party, is currently one of the chief negotiators at the roundtable. Krzysztof Janowski conducted the following interview with him:

[Janowski] Professor Reykowski, you attended the 9-hour meeting between Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Foreign Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak last Thursday [2 March]. There were reports that this meeting had become necessary because the roundtable talks were stalled.

Reykowski: This would be exaggerated. However, the danger was there. We simply wanted to give fresh impetus to the talks so that they can be concluded before the end of this month. After the meeting, I believe that this will be possible by the middle of March.

[Janowski] In your opinion, what spheres have turned out to be most difficult during the negotiations?

Reykowski: There are a number of problems in the political sphere, concerning the form of future state institutions, for example, or how parliamentary elections can be organized. We are interested in ensuring the greatest extent of democratization, while at the same time avoiding serious conflicts.

[Janowski] Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz stated recently that theoretical agreement has often been reached at the roundtable, but that Solidarity runs into a wall as soon as details are discussed.

Reykowski: To speak of a wall would be exaggerated. However, it is indeed easier for us to reach agreement on our goals at the roundtable than to discuss ways of how they can be achieved.

[Janowski] What about access to the mass media for the opposition? Difficulties have allegedly occurred here as well.

Reykowski: We do indeed have problems here. It is true that we have agreed to allow the opposition to publish a few papers. The question is when and how many. We also have a paper shortage. We hope, however, that paper imports will make it possible to start printing the weekly SOLIDARITY (banned since December 1981—the editors) immediately following the legalization of the trade union.

[Janowski] Are you as generous as far as television and radio are concerned?

Reykowski: There will be problems there. Our negotiating partners are already claiming part of the existing television and radio programs. This is not acceptable for the government at present.

[Janowski] In your view, what is the greatest threat to the Polish reform process?

Reykowski: I think, it is the country's bad economic situation and the increasing demands of the workers for pay raises. The old system no longer works and the new one has not started working yet. Tensions, unrest, and dissatisfaction may result, thus endangering the reform process.

[Janowski] Do you say this as a Politburo member or as a psychologist?

Reykowski: I cannot keep these two positions apart.

Solidarity's Geremek Queried on Negotiations

PM0703122689 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 4 Mar 89 p 12

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek, adviser to Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa, by Andrea Tarquini; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Tarquini] What point has been reached in the negotiations, and which of your conditions cannot be renounced?

[Geremek] The legalization of Solidarity, of the Independent Peasants' Union, and of the Independent Students' Organization (NZS) remain the priority. This will be the first step in defusing the social conflicts, which recurred last year in a particularly acute form. Even after its return to legality, however, Solidarity can only perform its role fully once thorough changes in the political framework and political system have been decided on.

[Tarquini] What are the points of agreement and disagreement?

[Geremek] With regard to the economy, both sides are aware of the need to create an economy based on a free market, with diversified forms of ownership and with adequate scope for private enterprise, self-management, and workers' participation. But the key problem remains the political organization of the Polish economy, which is still constricted by the straitjacket of the "nomenklatura." Appointments and promotions of enterprise managers remain dependent on party membership or on decisions by the party hierarchy. There must therefore be a political decision to drastically limit the political authorities' rights in the economy.

[Tarquini] The communist party hard-liners and grassroots Solidarity members oppose the agreement and seem to be aiming at social unrest in order to obstruct it. Are you not afraid of society's responding with tides of protest?

[Geremek] The economic reform plan will undoubtedly require sacrifices from broad sectors of society, and in the present situation this will entail major concessions. This is why we are demanding a guarantee that the concessions and sacrifices that we are requesting from people will not be accepted in vain and are proposing the establishment of an institutional body to supervise implementation of the economic reforms, an institution with powers to monitor the executive's decisions and to inform the public.

[Tarquini] Will the transition to pluralism that you are negotiating with the government not be too slow and limited, compared to the public's expectations? Is the party not demanding too many guarantees of the defense of its power?

[Geremek] Solidarity has always advocated changes through evolution. Even now, at the roundtable, we are not proposing a program based on "everything now." We know it is impossible to leap from a totalitarian system to democracy. It is necessary, first, to set in motion what I call the "locomotives of change," that is: 1, to guarantee the sovereignty of the courts and the independence of the judiciary, which would ensure human rights observance; 2, to legally establish freedom of association; 3, to democratize the media, guaranteeing the social forces the right to create their own information media and access to the official media—in other words, changing the present situation of party and government monopoly over the radio, television, and press—specifically, we are demanding an independent television channel, radio program, and newspaper; and 4, to guarantee the autonomy of local authorities.

[Tarquini] With regard to the government proposals for a new parliament, with 60 percent of seats to the party and its allies and 40 percent to the opposition, will they not set excessively narrow limits on the liberalization?

[Geremek] You have to look at the agreement on elections from the viewpoint of of long-term change. For the first time since the war there will exist in Poland the right to submit and choose candidates. This will entail the abrogation of the article in the Constitution that enshrines the party's monopoly and "leading role." Of course we are discussing a certain limitation of the electoral law, a public agreement between the communist party and its allies on the one hand and Solidarity on the other. As a once-only solution, the accord should guarantee the present government coalition a parliamentary majority. This agreement reflects the philosophy of a gradual transition and the belief that a sudden leap from totalitarianism to democracy is impossible. So we now have to accept some limitations of the principle of the people's sovereignty. Be that as it may, for the first time the vote will express society's response, albeit with certain limitations. Subsequent elections must be fully democratic and no longer limited.

[Tarquini] Does the possibility of introducing a presidential system with a chief of state enjoying great powers—a position that seems tailor-made for General Jaruzelski—not set limitations on the democratization? Will the chief of state not be able to block the transition to freedom by decree?

[Geremek] No, it is a matter of reinstating a political figure traditional in Polish history—that of president of the republic—instead of the present State Council, an institutional body divorced from Polish traditions and created during the Stalinist period on the Soviet model. The restoration of the institution of the presidency of the republic must be viewed within the context of the establishment of a democratic system, that is, a system that will follow the principle of the people's sovereignty.

[Tarquini] What kind of parliament will you propose to the government under the future institutional order?

[Geremek] There could be a move from the present single parliament to a bicameral system, previously tried before the war. It would be possible to create an upper chamber, a senate, with a lower house having greater economic and social responsibilities. These matters should be broached in the next few days at the roundtable and by the parliament—the parliament resulting from the coming elections, which will, as we said, be elected for the first and only time on the basis of the aforementioned political agreement. This parliament should also be a constituent assembly that will define the institutional features of the future democratic system. To sum up, the aim is to give the people back the state e, which has hitherto been the property of only one sector of it. This alienation of the state must be transcended. We are seeking an agreement to set a process in motion, in the certainty that Poland will become a democratic country again. [passage omitted]

Warsaw Party Secretary Interviewed on Pluralism

AU2302173889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Feb 89 p 8

[Interview with Lech Glogowski, secretary to the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee, by Maria Olszewska: "To Doubt Does Not Mean To Negate"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Olszewska] During the plenum of the Warsaw committee that was held 3 months ago and attended by Wojciech Jaruzelski, I remember that outside the hall a young participant asked Wojciech Jaruzelski what he thought about pluralism within the party. The PZPR Central Committee first secretary replied that he was in favor of there being pluralism with regard to views and opinions, but that there should be unity on goals and directions of activity. What is no more than a causal glance at the course of the accountability campaign in the Warsaw PZPR organization seems to confirm this view: There is unity, but it is not monolithic, it is rather the sum total of exploration, doubts, concerns, and hopes. Would you agree?

[Glogowski] Yes, of course, I would agree. Shortly after that plenum— and I would remind you that is was an ideological plenum that essentially dealt with wide a range of related topics and represented a practical contribution to the run-up to the 10th Central Committee plenum—we in the Warsaw aktiv decided what results we wanted from our campaign. We decided that what we wanted to know was exactly what every party organization—plant, neighborhood, city, and rural organizations—had done for the local community and what things that were necessary had not been accomplished. Thus, this would then tell us what tasks lay ahead of us during the second half of the current term of office.

The decisions adopted at the 10th Central Committee plenum have introduced fundamental changes in ways of viewing and approaching the very many key issues that party members are faced with. We have to fundamentally reassess issues such as political and trade union pluralism. So the campaign has been progressing along two lines. The first involves summing up what has been accomplished during the first half of the current term of office and the second concerns the difficult search for an answer to the question of what we should do to meet the needs of the times and to stand at the forefront of change in our community. [passage omitted]

[Olszewska] Opinions seem to differ widely on the question of the principles of pluralism, and not just on the ways in which the principles should be implemented.

[Glogowski] Political pluralism is causing less excitement, because it does not come as a surprise. The Warsaw organization underwent an important test in this respect during the recent people's council elections. However, there has been very heated debate on the question of union political pluralism, especially at plant conferences. Very different and sometimes extreme arguments have been advanced on the subject of the practical application of the principle. The issue on which there appears to be the most agreement is union representation in dealings with management: Most people favor a single form of representation that does not necessarily have to involve just one union.

There are many fears stemming from previous experience of Solidarity activity. Solidarity supporters should not take offense, but the fact is that during the discussion misgivings were expressed about whether under Solidarity programs concern for the welfare of work forces would not just take the form of slogans that grab people's attention—for example, calls for wage hikes—but can have no backing in economic facts and would not be linked to the higher output and productivity that is essential in our situation. Fears were also expressed about political demands returning to the workplace in the guise of union demands and of splits emerging within work forces. [passage omitted]

Miodowicz Meets With Koszalin Trade Unionists

AU0803125189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Feb 89 p 7

[Jan Urbanowicz report: "We Are Neither Hardliners Nor Extremists, We Defend the Interests of Working People"]

[Text] Over 400 people gathered at the Koszalin Voivodship House of Trade Unions on 27 February in order to

meet with Alfred Miodowicz, member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ].

There was no heated discussion or even any introductory report. Following a short statement by the OPZZ chairman, in which he said that the trade union stance on vital issues for the country and working people is well-known, there was a question and answer session.

Over 30 questions were asked during the 2-hour session. Replying to them, Alfred Miodowicz said that placing labels on everything is not unusual when there is a political struggle going on. Such labels are also being put on the trade unions. Some people say we are conservatives, and others say we are extremists, said A. Miodowicz. In fact, we are neither of the two. We are the representatives of the working people vis-a-vis the government and every political force and orientation. We consider our stance about having one trade union in each enterprise to be correct. However, if trade unionists want more than one trade union, we have nothing against that. We believe that Article 5 of the Trade Union act setting out the procedure to be adopted when declaring strikes should be changed. This is the Sejm's business, especially of those Sejm deputies who are trade unionists.

We are a trade union movement, and the PZPR Politburo issues us no orders or prohibitions, A. Miodowicz continued. The Politburo does not even approve of all our decisions. However, we represent the interests of the working people, who produce the national income by means of their work. We have the complete right to represent them. That is the most important matter, for it illustrates a new political culture in Poland.

Rakowski Attends PZPR Conference in Lodz

LD0303222589 Warsaw PAP in English 2111 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Lodz, Mar 3—Resolutions must be translated into a language of concrete tasks and then consistently performed. Under the pluralistic conditions of party work the rank and prestige of party organisation will depend on that, it was said at a Voivodship (provincial) reporting PUWP conference here today where present was PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. Speaking in the discussion Rakowski told the participants about the social, political, and economic situation in Poland. We have dealt with difficult matters, he said, with problems we have to live with and solve by ourselves.

Pointing to the examples of re-restructuring in the economy he stressed that it cannot be achieved within two or three years and with strikes making the situation worse at the moment. The Poles' collective responsibility for their factory is imperative today. No authority can alone control, for example, wanton price making.

The prime minister also referred to the roundtable conference. Conditions for talks between people of various political and world outlooks orientations have been created. Those who are sitting at the table will decide what use is made of these conditions. Despite many difficulties, the reform must be completed. The necessary conditions for achieving economic balance, increasing the efficiency of management, curbing inflation, speeding up structural changes in economy, and the creation of conditions for human enterprise and activity, initiative—as the main driving force of development must be sought in the reform. This should be helped by de-monopolisation and de-bureaucratisation of the socio-economic development and economic cooperation with other countries.

Czarzasty Interviewed on PZPR Role, Reforms

PM2802161989 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 17 Feb 89 pp 3-4

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zygmunt Czarzasty by TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA correspondent Wladyslaw Lawicki; date, place not given]

[Text] [Lawicki] One of the main objectives of the reform within the PZPR is to transform the "state party" into a socialized party. How will this process be carried out in practical terms within the whole PZPR structure?

[Czarzasty] To begin with, I would like to say that I do not favor terms like "state party" or "socialized party." They do not reflect properly the full substance of the transformations which are already taking place in the party and which now, after the 10th Central Committee plenum, we would like to and indeed must accelerate.

As the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum resolution puts it, the party needs the kind of changes in its tasks, structure, and methods of operation which would allow it to fulfill its role successfully in a pluralistic society and under the conditions of a socialist market economy. Thus the changes must be multidirectional and multifaceted.

Within this framework we are relinquishing certain prerogatives, methods, tasks, and structures. Moreover, we have clearly defined and labeled the things we are relinquishing. For example, we are abandoning the practice whereby the party substituted itself for the state authorities and, as such, administered and managed the state. We are abandoning the illusion of the party's ideological uniformity as well as many elements of formalism and ritualism in intraparty life. It appears that there is a widespread consensus in the party on what should be kept and what should be discarded, although this certainly does not mean that it is easy to overcome the stereotypes that weigh heavily on our consciousness and our practical experience. Overcoming this problem will be a continuous process rather than a single, finite act.

An even more difficult task will be posed by the campaign to arm the party with new operational instruments and methods of functioning, define afresh the tasks and forms of their realization, and transform organizational structures to accommodate the party's need to fight for a "modernized form of socialism in Poland," as formulated by the 10th PZPR Plenum. To give you an example, it will be necessary for party members to learn to handle the mechanisms of political and parliamentary assessment and control of particular governmental and administrative structural cells (and, in parallel, analogical cells in local structures, work enterprises, and institutions) and to win an influential position in a variety of organizations and social movements. As regards internal party issues, the fundamental objective is to give a fresh interpretation (and application) to Lenin's principle of democratic centralism and to debureaucratize the party control system, with an emphasis on the independence of local committees and primary party organizations within the limits of the targets defined by the Congress and the Central Committee as well as the Politburo. Another objective is to forge closer links between the operation of full-time party activists and its voluntary workers. The list of the necessary changes could be extended—if only on the basis of the directives issued by the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum. In addition, the Third National Theoretical and Ideological Conference provided additional new food for thought.

The need for changes and transformations applies to the whole party and all its cells and organizational structures. The Central Committee resolution has placed it under this obligation. We do not intend to ration any of the initiatives or innovatory ideas that may be demonstrated by various party cells: On the contrary, we will stimulate and inspire them, and encourage them to move along faster, since we are short of time.

[Lawicki] An important role in modernizing the party is allocated to innovatory and experimental actions. But the attitude of the party activists varies on whether such a requirement is warranted. There is, for instance, the view that small organizations can afford to experiment, but it is risky for large ones. What is your view on the subject, comrade?

[Czarzasty] The dynamic period of socioeconomic and political transformations that we have entered requires, and is increasingly going to require, that individual committees and organizations adapt to the new situation. Or, more appropriately, to a number of new situations. In the light of this, committees and organizations will have to be more self-dependent and take greater responsibility for the sociopolitical situation in their areas of influence. As far as experimenting goes, of course no one in the party is compelled to experiment. You can make use of the achievements of others. But everyone is required, in the spirit of the Central Committee resolution, to make changes in the methods and the substance of their work. Personally I am certain that those comrades who today are still not convinced of the need for innovation and experimentation in party work will be forced into it by our reality, the progress of the economic reform, and the developing political and trade union pluralism. The old, well-worn methods of party work will increasingly prove ineffective.

[Lawicki] Which of your experiences in the "Slupsk experiment" are especially suitable for wide dissemination throughout the party?

[Czarzasty] In accordance with the Politburo decision the "Slupsk experiment" and several other voivodship experiments have been given wide coverage in the party press. They are there for others to make use of. But they are not meant to be duplicated. Voivodship organizations vary, and the problems that arise in particular voivodships also vary. I think that now their differentiation is going to increase rather than decrease. This is why I would tend to encourage every voivodship to analyze independently its situation, needs, conditions, and opportunities for making the kind of changes and experiments that would be the most effective in their area. Maybe—even certainly—after a time it will be necessary to assess which elements of the experiment have stood the test of real life and are worth introducing on a general scale, and which will have to be abandoned. Such is the fate of experiments. Meanwhile I would like to encourage everyone to engage in independent experiments as much as possible. Already today a great many voivodship party organizations—among others, Elblag, Lublin, and Koszalin—have implemented their own original solutions. The search by the party voivodship echelon in Katowice is interesting in this respect.

[Lawicki] Now for a more fundamental question: We have had no experience whatever with political pluralism on the scale and of the nature defined by the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. There are no cleared paths for it to follow. Will the party be capable of retaining its leading role in society under these new circumstances?

[Czarzasty] You are right. The transformations taking place in Poland, including, among others, those involving pluralism, present a completely new experience for us, a new road to a "modernized form of socialism." However, it is not only our party activists who must face the novel situation. The situation is new for all participants in the transformations taking place around us: those from the coalition of Poland's left, those from the opposition, and members of the general population alike. We will all have to learn the new rules of political strategy and political culture as well as ideological and political struggle and the methods of achieving a compromise. As we learn these rules we will gradually mature and find the right place for ourselves in the new scheme.

I do not believe that the party which since 1980 has been undergoing intensive, practical "training" during different stages of agreement or struggle will now turn out to be ill-prepared to cope with the new situation. On the

contrary, I think it will be very well prepared indeed. Of course, it is possible that some activists will not stand up to the challenge of the new conditions. But at the same time I know that diversified political life—and that is certainly what we are going to get—will encourage the rapid growth of a new generation of activists who will be better adapted to coping with these new circumstances.

[Lawicki] Thank you for talking to me.

Malinowski Speaks on Constitution, Presidency

LD2502112289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] [Presenter] The Sejm, contrary to custom and tradition, will not have a recess between the fall and spring sessions. This is connected with the considerably greater legislative obligations. Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski and our reporter, Stanislaw Stec, talk about this.

[Begin recording] [Stec] Mr Speaker, as we all know, the speeding up of the elections is practically certain.

[Malinowski] The Sejm is working very intensively at the moment. The course of the roundtable and the agreements adopted create conditions for the elections to be speeded up, that is, to be held in June and not November, as we planned in accordance with the end of the term of office. The elections would, so to speak, close the qualitative changes taking place in Poland and connected with the plane of national accord, which, I think, creates a social base for the support of economic reforms. At the moment, those problems of the economy, of economic reforms, are from the point of view of the interests of the State and of society, the leading and most important ones. [passage omitted]

I think the need will arise to make a certain amendment to the Constitution. The Constitution (?states) that candidates to the Sejm are put forward by political parties and social orgnizations. We would now like candidates to be put forward in accord with the consolidation of the principles of a civic society. I think it would also be essential to set up a second parliamentary chamber, a kind of senate. It would unite the principles, the values, and achievements of the senate, which (?there once was) and also the experience of the Consultative Council attached to the chairman of the Council of State and the Sejm's Socioeconomic Council.

The third matter connected with changes to the Constitution which the Sejm should examine before the elections is the creation of the institution of president. It is clear that in accordance with traditions and also needs, the creation of the institution of president would also have to be linked with broad powers for the president, the creation of a strong executive authority, in accord with plans, when we would work to have a new edition of the Constitution, the first constitution in Europe, and the second in the world after the U.S. Constitution. [end recording]

Siwicki Interviewed on Disarmament Process

LD0103213489 Warsaw PAP in English 2012 GMT 1 Mar 89

[For full text of interview, see item headlined 'Polish Defense Minister on Bloc Posture' published in the 1 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 38-40]

[Text] Moscow, March 1—The Soviet daily PRAVDA today carried an extensive interview with PUWP CC Political Bureau member, Minister of National Defence Gen Florian Siwicki, in which he discussed the newest, unilateral disarmament initiatives of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty.

Asked for an assessment of the recent statement of the Committee of Ministers of Defence of States-Parties to the Warsaw Treaty presenting the balance of forces between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, the minister pointed out—clearly and unequivocally—that it presents "both facts and phenomena which suit us and which do not suit us, and the disproportions and asymmetries which occur."

Siwicki went on to recall the newest disarmament initiatives of socialist countries, Poland inclusive, aimed at reducing armed forces and arms as well as reducing military budgets. These steps are united by an authentically defensive meaning of the military doctrine, he said.

Commenting on the decision on reorganization of the Polish Armed Forces, Gen Siwicki stressed that Poland thus met halfway the advantageous trends which are taking shape in the international situation.

The minister added that at issue were not some routine operations. "We are striving to carry out a deep restructuring of our Amed Forces, using all the reserves while maintaining the army's capacity for effective defence depending on the degree of the threat to our security," he said.

Assessing the prospects of the disarmament process on the European continent, Siwicki stated: "One can undoubtedly expect that new thinking on the political and military problems of modern times will pave an increasingly broader way for itself and bear fruit in advantageous changes."

In this context, Gen Siwicki stated that the Polish side, being guided by the provisions of the Jaruzelski Plan, would sit down to the debate table (in Vienna) with an awareness of the need to sign agreements, with a readiness to do away with all disproportions and asymmetries, significant reduction of armed forces and conventional weaponry in Europe as well as deepening confidence-building measures.

Asked whether the unilateral reductions in armed forces and arms as well as in military budgets being carried out by socialist countries did not weaken their defence

potential and that of the Warsaw Treaty in general, the minister said that these matters were approached very carefully in Poland. Following a lot of very tragic experience, today we live in secure borders, surrounded by allies. These are our historic achievements which we safegaurd with utmost care. Our perception of security is boosted by Poland's participation in the socialist defence community, particularly the alliance with the Soviet Union, Siwicki told PRAVDA.

In taking decisions on structural changes in the Polish Armed Forces, we strive to maintain such a number of troops, such a level of their armament, which is indispensable to ensure the security of the country within the defence system of the Warsaw Treaty. This means that all the tasks resting with us should be, as has been the case thus far, completed to the end, the Polish defence minister said.

General Staff Meeting for Military Attaches

AU0203143489 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 Feb 89 p 5

[Report signed "W.Ch.": "Changes in the PPR Armed Forces: Meeting With Military Attaches"]

[Text] On 22 February, there was a meeting at the Conference Center of the Ministry of National Defense in Warsaw between representatives of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces and the military attaches of diplomatic representation accredited in Poland. The meeting dealt with Poland's place in the disarmament dialogue and the realization of the Jaruzelski Plan, as well as selected issues pertaining to defense doctrine and changes in the PPR Armed Forces.

These issues were set out by General of Brigades Tadeusz Cepak and General of Brigades Franciszek Puchala. It was stressed that positive developments are taking place in the international situation. They include the extension of detente from the political to the military sphere and—this represents a breakthrough—a further mandate for two forums for negotiations on conventional forces in Europe, as well as the continuation of the conference on security and confidence-building measures on our continent.

The importance of preventing an unexpected attack was pointed to, and lowering the level of military confrontation was considered a way of achieving this end. One step in this direction is the announcement of the elimination of arms imbalances. This will aid the realization of the Polish initiative concerning a reduction in weapons in Europe and benefits the fostering of conditions for East-West dialogue. Further action aimed at producing another generation of confidence-building measures in the military and other fields—like those that have been produce so far—would serve to remove mistrust in international relations.

The detailed provisions of national military doctrine were also set out. Currently, they include a set of views on the character of war and decisions by the authorities concerning the prevention of war, and the preparation of the capabilities and resources of the state and all society for preparations made jointly with allied states in order to repulse aggression and counter warfare. It was stressed that the prevention of war is one of the key elements in Polish defense doctrine. The implementation of the undertakings concerning the Polish Armed Forces, including the process of shaping their development, was explained.

Answers were provided to questions from the military attaches concerning, among other things, the disbanding of military units, weapons reductions, the merging of military academies and colleges, and the transformation of Territorial Defense units into civil defense units. The meeting, which was organized by the military foreign affairs department of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, was attended by General of Brigades Marian Daniluk and Colonel Ryszard Dziedzic, chief of the department.

Army Colonel Details Terms of Military Service

LD0103205989 Warsaw PAP in English 1918 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 1—A PAP reporter talked to Col Jan Stachurski from the general headquarters of the Polish Army on the duration of military service. Here are excerpts of the colonel's comments:

"Comparisons of periods of serving in the Polish Army and in the armies of West European countries are frequently biased and simplified. For example, the alleged statement that the time of military service in all NATO countries does not exceed a year is not true. In fact, privates in Holland service for 14 months and noncommissioned officers for 17 months. The service in Norway's Air Force and Navy lasts 15 months, in Italy 18 months. In the FRG the service lasted 15 months to-date but it was prolonged to 18 months this year.

"In NATO Armies the posts requiring high qualifications are manned with professional soldiers in the rank of a private while in Poland for example a tank, an armoured personnel carrier, or a rocket are commanded and driven by soldiers drafted to the Army. The same job in NATO Armies is done by professionals. 53 per cent of both the FRG's and Holland's Armies are professional soldiers, the same figure in France being 55 per cent, in Belgium 65 per cent, in Denmark 67 per cent, while in Poland only 33 per cent.

"In NATO armies the conscipts, drafted under legal regulations, perform only simple service activities on which combat readiness is scarecely dependent. Such armies naturally need by far fewer conscripts.

"Although military service lasts shorter in NATO armies, the burden shouldered by reserve soldiers participating in military exercises is larger as a rule. The time of being kept in reserves, for example, in the FRG, Norway, Denmark is longer than in Poland. In the FRG also the total time of maneouvers held within the reserves is longer.

"In the armies of the allied socialist countries the military service lasts 24 months like in Poland but in Romanian land and air forces it lasts 16 months, in the GDR.

"Yet, it is not the duration of military services that is evidence of certain particularly Polish characteristics. The scale of postponements of military service is, in fact, unprecedented in other socialist countries. For example, postponements due to running a farm are applied neither in Romania, nor the GDR, nor in other countries."

"Postponements of farmer-conscripts and those due to performing a profession in important branches of industry, in transport and housing are aimed at giving assistance in this way to priority branches of national economy, also including ones from outside the state-run sector. As of this year, also other conscipts, namely bakers, employed in state-run and cooperative bakeries as well as in private ones, will be allowed to postpone their military service.

"Humanitarian considerations have also dictated the need to grant postponements to conscripts directly looking after a juvenile member of their family or an invalid.

"Naturally, learners of secondary schools and colleges of further education, and students of higher schools are not drafted to the army, as well as conscipts who are granted the status of sole bread-earners of families.

"But this entails specific consequences. If one adds to the number of those granted all the enumerated kinds of postponements, which amounts to 100,000 persons annually, the number of those unable to join the army because of health condition, then it turns out that some 50 per cent of the whole annual conscription population are drafted. This is also not a favourable factor adding to the possibility of reducing military service.

"The service in units of aiding type, such as protection sub-units, has already been shortened by two months. At the moment the service on ships of Polish military fleet is being shortened from three to two years.

"A restructuring of the Armed Forces is being carried out, which has been widely announced by the minister of national defence, Gen Florian Siwicki, in interviews for PAP and TV. If the restructuring keeps being implemented in favourable circumstances of international detente, then the armed forces will need fewer conscipts. The nearest prospects for the demographic situation concerning the next yearly age-groups are also auguring improvement, a clear one already in 1990. One should also think that the youth of these ever more numerous age-groups will be better prepared with respect to the level of education, professional qualifications, and such circumstances will create premises for further shortening the duration of the military service."

Officials on Economy, Foreign Debt, Investments

LD2502092789 Warsaw PAP in English
0117 GMT 25 Feb 89

[By B. Ciemniakowski, A. Klosinski, J. Szychlinski]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 24—Friday [24 February] was the second and last day of the economic seminar for foreign journalists here at which represented were, among other papers and periodicals, LE MONDE, THE WASHINGTON TIMES, THE OBSERVER and HANDELSBLATT.

Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski, PUWP CC Political Bureau member and CC Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek, Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Dominik Jastrzebski and Minister for Industry Mieczyslaw Wilczek today met the participants in the seminar which took place at the Interpress Press Centre.

Minister Wroblewski said that the main efforts to change the financial system of this country aim at restructuring the financial system of a state enterprise to give it the character of a joint stock company with the state holding share in it, and making it free from dependence on state administration. This is necessasry, emphasized Wroblewski, to create premises for the establishment of the capital market in the economy.

In order to put the hard currency market in order we shall be creating conditions to achieve the convertibility of the Polish currency within the borders of this country in 2-3 years time. We want to achieve this mainly by creating stock exchanges where normal trade in hard currency will be taking place.

The foreign debt and its servicing pose another problem. At the present moment the Polish debt is some 39 thousand million U.S. dollars, this including 9 thousand million dollar debt at commercial banks (covered by restructuring agreement with London Club), which we repay on time, to the tune of some 700 million U.S. dollars, and 24 thousand million dollars is the debt at the Paris Club. We also run a debt to the USSR and banking institutions of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. All in all, said the minister, we repay about 1.7 thousand million dollars a year while we should repay some 3 thousand million. We are considering solutions with the view to getting greater access to the international financial markets which would make it possible for us to increase the repayment of the debt.

The minister for foreign economic relations emphasized steps taken to demonopolize Polands foreign trade, now everybody can start export business. Foreign trade is permitted in all articles except for some 30 items of strategic importance. Nor do we interfere in personnel questions of firms, said Jastrzebski.

Speaking to a PAP report Lee Duffield, European correspondent of Australian Broadcasting Corporation, a participant in the seminar, said Poland was becoming a more attractive partner for foreign investors.

He was of the opinion that the new economic laws would encourage much investment in Poland although this would certainly not be automatic. Some foreign experts, for example, are skeptical about the hard currency reform.

The market for foreign currency in Poland should be tested and improved. Investors are cautious and democratization of the political system should also be tested, emphasized Lee Duffield.

John Lloyd of FINANCIAL TIMES pointed to the strong points of the Polish economy—the availability of skilled labour, the availability of raw materials and the size of the domestic market—and said that in this respect Poland was quite an interesting location for foreign investments. I think, he went on, that foreign investment will increase, especially if more market-oriented reform continue.

The British journalist described the seminar as "extremely useful" for foreign correspondents. It is very rare in any country to get a steady stream of high level ministers one after another talking, as it seems, very frankly about the problems, about their plans and answering questions the way they did, Mr Lloyd said.

Joint Venture Law To Attract Western Investment

AU0203160889 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 2 Mar 89 p 8

["ho" report: "Poland Attracts Western Investors"]

[Excerpts] Vienna—Poland already has 44 joint ventures, 6 of them with Austrian participation. Another 20 Austrian companies have held talks about joint ventures with Polish companies. The total capital invested by the West amounts to $100 to $150 million, Tadeusz Zylkowski, president of the Polish Foreign Trade Chamber, said at a press conference in Vienna. According to the new joint venture law, it is also permitted to establish 100-percent subsidiaries of Western enterprises in Poland. [passage omitted]

Zylkowski said that the number of joint ventures with the other CEMA states is "very low." [passage omitted] The president also cited areas in which Poland is particularly interested in new joint ventures, such as telecommunications, because the Polish telephone system is totally obsolete. Energy saving is also to be improved with Western help, as is the production of facilities for environmental protection. In the chemical area the production of pesticides and herbicides is to be particularly expanded. Poland shows intensified interest in the training of managers, because the economic reform cannot be successful without them. It is planned to send Polish experts abroad for training. A manager school is to be established in Warsaw. Poland needs at least 2,500 managers per year. The training of Polish bankers is to be promoted with the help of Austrian banks, because Warsaw has carried out a banking reform which resulted in the founding of nine banks.

At present, Austrian companies are building two hotels in Warsaw, one in Krakow, and one in Jeleni Gora. Austria is also building 10 cold storage houses. Of the Polish debts amounting to $38 billion, $2.8 billion are debts to Austria. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski Receives Financier David Rockefeller

LD0203164389 Warsaw PAP in English 1403 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 2—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski today received David Rockefeller, an outstanding representative of American financial circles, now on a visit to Poland.

During the meeting the sides discussed some issues of the international situation, accentuating the positive trends which have surfaced in recent years, particularly in East-West relations.

Jaruzelski confirmed the readiness of the Polish side to fully normalize bilateral relations between Poland and the United States, mutually advantageous ones, based on stable foundations.

The sides positively assessed the operations of the foundation for the Development of Polish Agriculture which was set up in 1987.

Jastrzebski Receives Iraqi Finance Minister

LD0303235489 Warsaw PAP in English 1843 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, March 3—Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Dominik Jastrzebski met Iraqi Finance Minister Hikmat 'Umar al-Hadithi today.

Both sides sized up the present and future Polish-Iraqi economic relations, paying a special regard to prospects for long-term supplies of oil from Iraq to Poland linked to the exports of Polish goods and services.

Ambassador of the Iraqi Republic to Poland Muhammad Fadl Husayn al-Habbubi took part in the talks.

Minister Meets Thatcher at London Conference

LD0803030189 Warsaw PAP in English
0015 GMT 8 Mar 89

[By PAP correspondent Mariusz Kuklinski]

[Text] London, March 7—During a break in the debates of the conference devoted to the protection of the ozone layer in atmosphere, the head of the Polish delegation for the conference Poland's Minister for the Protection of Environment and Natural Resources Jozef Koziol met today with British Premier Margaret Thatcher.

Mrs Thatcher said that she would like to continue the dialogue initiated in Warsaw and she is looking forward to the visits to be paid by President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Mrs Thatcher also mentioned plans for joint observances of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World war II to be held early in September, 1989.

The British premier said that several British Navy ships would arrive on a goodwill visit to Poland to commemorate the anniversary. Koziol and Thatcher also tackled issues pertaining to the roundtable talks.

Kulski Meets Britain's Howe, Waldegrave

LD2502031889 Warsaw PAP in English
0018 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] London, Feb 24—Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Boleslaw Kulski, who had political consultations at the British Foreign office, paid a visit here February 22-24. He was received by British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe and had talks with Minister of State at the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office William Waldegrave. Kulski met the British-Polish parliamentary group in the House of Commons.

Problems of bilateral relations, particularly the implementation of decisions made during Margaret Thatcher's visit to Poland, were the key theme of the talks. The interlocutors discussed a plan of political contacts and other ventures serving to swiftly develop Polish-British relations in all areas, particularly in economy, stemming from these decisions. They agreed to increase the exchange of youth, to organize common ventures to mark the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II and to organize British assistance in training Polish managerial cadres.

British interlocutors showed deep interest in Poland's current situation, particularly the "roundtable" debates. Both sides carried out a broad exchange of views on international situation, with a special regard to a new stage of disarmament negotiations.

Malinowski Gives Perceptions of British Visit

LD2402232889 Warsaw PAP in English
1947 GMT 23 Feb 89

[By PAP correspondent Mariusz Kuklinski]

[Text] London, Feb 23—Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski ended his 4-day visit to Great Britain today—the first ever visit to this country by Polish Parliament's head, paid at the invitation of the Speaker of the House of Commons Bernard Weatherill.

The talks which Malinowski held with British parliamentarians have created a groundwork for a considerable expansion of inter-parliamentary ties and cooperation between particular committees and party floor groups, the representatives of which he invited to visit Poland.

During his visit Malinowski held talks with the Speaker of the House of Commons Bernard Weatherill and was received by Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. He also met with members of British-Polish inter-parliamentary group and its Chairman Ralph Howell who paid a visit to Poland in May.

Representatives of British Polonia at a meeting with Malinowski received with satisfaction his information about steps taken in Poland which are aimed at making up for harmful mistakes of 40 years ago committed against patriots who had settled outside Poland, including Gen Wladyslaw Anders and Stanislaw Mikolajczyk.

Before leaving Britain, Roman Malinowski gave a statement for the PAP correspondent, saying that this was a short but a very fruitful visit, held in a good, business-like and constructive atmosphere.

One should stress that all British interlocutors showed very lively interest in changes taking place in Poland and in the "roundtable" talks, and assess them in a very positive way. They perceive also that what is going on in Poland is important not only for our country but also for Polish-British relations, for overcoming divisions being a result of the cold war and for building common european home, Malinowski said.

During the talks, we paid much attention to economic questions. Premier Thatcher declared her personal commitment to positive solutions at the forum of the Paris Club and the International Monetary Fund as well as to the negotiations on agreement between Poland and the EC. I think that today we are nearer such solutions.

We discussed also the need to promote cooperation between Polish and British enterprises with representatives of economic circles. We agreed that common actions should lead to an essential increase in the scope of cooperation in third markets. The case is similar with companies with the share of foreign capital. There are four of them now and talks are under way to set up the next ones. One should also point to the promotion of

pro-export investments in Poland and to the modernization of factories built in Poland to a British licence. The Polish side tabled 200 offers concerning such cases. Government guarantees of credits for this purpose and normalization of bilateral financial-credit relations would be necessary to take up these offers.

Participants in the talks highly sized up British-Polish cooperation in culture, science and technology as well as contacts of twin towns. The development of bilateral relations is reflected also in the growing exchange of people between Poland and Britain that doubled over the past 4 years.

After coming to Warsaw, Roman Malinowski told journalists he thought that one could somehow count on systematizing and enriching Polish-British parliamentary cooperation, including contacts with individual floor groups and committees, which had not taken place so far.

I had very cordial and promising talks with Premier Margaret Thatcher, and the declaration of her personal commitment to leading to normalization of bilateral and financial-credit cooperation between Britain and Poland was evident.

When we discussed common commemorations of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II and including the solemn bringing of Gen Wladyslaw Sikorski's ashes to Poland into these observances, Mrs Thatcher showed her emotional interest and confirmed she would do her best to make this possible.

Monthly Publishes Editorial Discussion on Katyn

LD2702150589 Warsaw PAP in English 1224 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 27—The latest issue of MIESIECZNIK LITERACKI (No 11/88), a Polish literary monthly published recently a transcript of an editorial discussion on Katyn, a locality near Smolensk, where there are graves of 4,240 murdered Polish officers. Among participants in the discussion which was held last June, there were the montly's editor-in-chief, a participant of the Lenino Battle, Retired General Wlodzimierz Sokorski and historians: Jarema Maciszewski, Czeslaw Madajczyk and Andrzej Werblan.

Sokorski said that after the seizure of Smolensk in 1943, he was a member of a commission set up by General Zygmunt Berling (commander of the 1st Army of the Polish Armed forces which was liberating Poland together with the Soviet troops) and headed the commission during its trip to Katyn. "It was shortly after the seizure of Smolensk. For me, it ended in this way that I was summoned by General Yuriy Zhukov from NKVD and signed a declaration in which I pledged never to talk to anybody on this subject. At that time, we talked to local country people who still lived there, and not only lived but had not been deported yet. After my return from Katyn I presented a report to Gen Berling. After the talk with Zhukov at NKVD I have not talked on the subject to anyone for many years," Sokorski said.

Czeslaw Madajczyk: "In most cases, people who had anything to do with this matter vanished and Polish documents concerning Katyn were lost...."

Andrzej Werblan: "As concerns an official attitude to Katyn in People's Poland, there were several different phases. The first one, till 1956 was marked by an attitude which could be termed as 'servilistic'. The version of Budenko's commission was being accepted beforehand, without discussion and verification. "After October, 1956 the attitude of silence was adopted. Even in historical works, even in encyclopedias. (Wladyslaw) Gomulka motivated this attitude at a meeting with students several days after he had regained power. He said something like this: 'There are two communiques on Katyn, German and Soviet. We have not examined this matter, we have not had a chance for it, therefore we cannot assume a stance in favour of any of them. We shall not start up a dispute with the USSR to explain this matter, it will not resuscitate the officers nor help us, it will only complicate the situation.'

"This was the attitude dictated, one might say, by the reason of state of the weaker. I would like to point out that in 1943, Churchill recommended such an attitude to Sikorski's government (in exile) and motivated it in a similar way. There is his hand-written instruction for Eden," said Werblan.

Maciszewski: "...Whereas now, it is the third period, namely the time when we seek the clarification of the whole problem."

Werblan: "Yes, this third phase was open by [passage indinstinct].

Remembrance Council Chairman Comments on Katyn

AU0303144189 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 28 Feb 89 p 1, 5

[Interview with Roman Paszkowski, chairman of the Council for the Conservation of Monuments of Struggle and Martyrdom, by Krzysztof Malecki: "Getting Closer to the Truth"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Malecki] Until recently places such as Kozelsk, Starobelsk, or Ostashkov [campsites where Soviets imprisoned Polish officers captured in 1939. The inmates of Kozelsk were subsequently murdered at Katyn] were talked about seldom and reluctantly. The history textbooks in our schools maintain a silence about them....

[Paszkowski] The facts were depicted as politicians saw fit. Now, years later, September 1939 and not just the question of our troops interned in the USSR appear in a different light. In reality, what was once depicted as a

defeat and a political error is a cause for taking pride in the heroism of the Polish soldier. Today, a different view is taken of the Warsaw Uprising, the activities of the Home Army, and the role of our troops in the battles fought on the Western front. However, there is still much that remains unknown.

[Malecki] Like the question of who was responsible for the Katyn massacre, for the deaths of 11,000 Polish officers.

[Paszkowski] Western works on this subject are based on what was reported by the survivors of Polish prison camps in the USSR who had "personal contact" with the Katyn affair and on German documents. A view from the other side would certainly cast more light on the subject. What I have in mind are the results of the work being conducted by the joint Polish-Soviet commission. It includes members of our council. I am eagerly waiting for the results. My friends are also buried there. In September 1939 I was commander of the 7th company of the 22d Infantry Regiment, which was based in Siedlce and was part of the Pomeranian Army. I was wounded at Kutno and found myself in German captivity on leaving hospital.

However, regardless of what the commission's findings are, it is the duty of the council to ensure that Katyn is maintained as a place of remembrance, to remind Poles of the tragedy.

[Malecki] That is true—there are people who have forgotten it, and they include the authors of the 4-volume Universal Encyclopedia. The places mentioned at the beginning of our interview do not appear in it, and they do not appear in the 1988 supplement to the encyclopedia. However, let us get back to what we were talking about it. Soil from Katyn is to be brought to Poland shortly.

[Paszkowski] During the second half of March at the latest, a special delegation is to leave for Smolensk to collect the soil. However, the urn containing the soil will not be placed in the plot at the Powazowski Cemetery until somewhat later, in April, national remembrance month.

[Malecki] Who are the members of the delegation?

[Paszkowski] It is still too soon to talk about details. We would like it to include relatives and people who were close to those died there. It will definitely not be a delegation made up of officials.

[Malecki] There must be a great deal of interest....

[Paszkowski] We receive a lot of letters and telephone calls on the subject. It is still necessary to obtain an invitation to travel to the USSR. We try to provide assistance to people who want to make the journey. For understandable reasons, the relatives of the men who died there do not want to visit the site as part of a package tour.

[Malecki] There are other places of national remembrance in the eastern territories in addition to the ones connected with World War II.

[Paszkowski] Almost 30,000 men who died in September are buried in the Ukraine and Belorussia. There are also Polish cemeteries from the period of national uprisings—the largest ones are in Lvov and Vilnius. There was a danger that the latter cemetery, "na Rosie" in Vilnius, would be destroyed. There were plans to put a highway through it. Fortunately, it was possible to divert the highway and... currently, the historic graves in the cemetery are being gradually restored.

The route of the 1st Polish Army also counts among the places of national remembrance and that is also something that we should not forget about. We would like a branch of the Polish Army Museum to be established at Sielce, which is where the Kosciuszkowcy set off from.

[Malecki] The problem of commemorating places of national remembrance abroad not only applies to regions in the USSR. There are also places in Czechoslovakia and the GDR.

[Paszkowski] Our airmen who were shot down while bringing assistance to the Warsaw Uprising are buried in Prague. Many of our soldiers were in prisoner of war camps that were located in what is now the GDR. They include places such as Koenigsberg, where 16 Polish generals were imprisoned and where General Kleeberg died, Sachsenhausen, which is where General Grot-Rowecki died, Ravensbrueck, Horki, and Magdeburg are all places that are waiting for our attention with regard to national remembrance.

The changes that we are witnessing are continuing to produce new information. Our archives are gradually filling up and, as the years go by, we are getting closer and closer to the truth.

Father Niedzielak's Death Still Inexplicable

LD0703195589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Public Prosecutor Maciej Bialek, supervising the investigation into the case of Father Stefan Niedzielak's death, has announced that the circumstances of the death still cannot be unequivocally explained. During an inspection of the apartment and the places where Father Niedzielak could have been on the evening of 20 January, biological traces were found only in the direct vicinity of the place where the body lay. All bloodstains are traces of the priest's blood. There are no biological traces coming from another person in the apartment. Hairs found between the deceased's fingers totally match hairs coming from the priest's eyebrows. There is nothing to indicate that the event occurred in another place to that where the body was found.

Ceausescu Speaks to Central Committee on Economy

AU0603203789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
4 Mar 89 pp 1, 3

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech" at RCP Central Committee working meeting on economic issues, in Bucharest 3 March]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades: The Central Committee working meeting, which is attended by party activists and central and county basic cadres, has examined the activity aimed at fulfilling this year's plan and has established the necessary measures to best implement our homeland's socioeconomic development targets and the party's program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. (loud, prolonged applause)

On the basis of results achieved in the first 2 months of the current year one can say that, on the whole, we have achieved a number of important results and a certain overfulfillment of the plan in general. Despite all this, there are some sectors—particularly metallurgy and chemistry—which have achieved poorer results than the other branches of activity or than the plan provisions stipulate. Similarly, although on the whole and in terms of value we have exceeded the commodity production to a certain extent, the export production and export itself have not been completely fulfilled and this means that plan and legal provisions regarding the utilization of raw and other materials only in keeping with existing contracts have been violated. Actually, observance of these legal provisions is one of the essential and basic requirements of self-management and self-administration, and of the optimal operation of all activities on the basis of laws and the principles of socialist management.

On the whole, a large number of investment projects have been achieved compared with the same period last year; however, not all projects have been put into operation and this means that in this area, too, the activity was aimed at carrying out work and utilizing materials in order to come up with a great number of achievements in terms of value and not to put projects into production—this also being an essential requirement to ensure the optimal progress of investment projects and of the socioeconomic activity on the whole.

Although we have achieved some important results in labor productivity and with economic-financial indicators, we have fallen short of plan provisions.

In January and February, we examined at length—practically with all managerial councils of the ministries and with other central and research cadres—questions pertaining to economic efficiency and to perfecting all our activities.

We cannot say that we are fully satisfied with our activity in the first 2 months, although, on the whole—I want to repeat—we can say that the beginning is good and this guarantees that we will fulfill this year's plan under favorable conditions. At this meeting I would like to convey warm congratulations to the party organizations, the working people's councils, and all working people for this good beginning and the results achieved in the first 2 months, and to call on them to organize all activities better in order to fulfill the plan for the first quarter and for the whole year under favorable conditions. (loud applause)

During the meetings of councils per branches of activity, which took place on 2 March, the participants discussed at length all problems and particularly measures regarding the optimal fulfillment of the plan for March, and thus for the first quarter as well. At this point, it is necessary to move with great determination to implement all plan provisions and to fulfill the item-specified production—as stipulated. The plan can be viewed as fulfilled only if all varieties of the item-specified production have been achieved! Any other interpretation or the fulfillment of certain productions in terms of value by neglecting, however, varieties and contract provisions have to be considered as a violation of the laws and of the plan provisions, and thus do not mean the fulfillment of tasks.

It must be well understood by all enterprises, by the working people's councils, all central departments, and by all ministries that the complete observance of plan provisions, materialized in contracts and varieties, is compulsory.

We have positive provisions as far as the contract law is concerned, for both our country and for exports. Self-management and self-administration mean that enterprises are able to manufacture goods only on the basis of contracts—for both our domestic market and for abroad—and in keeping with the varieties stipulated. Firm and determined measures are necessary to ensure the unflinching observance of law and contract provisions in all areas. In the first 2 months a number of difficulties emerged in the proper technical-material supply because the same central departments and sometimes industry on the whole did not achieve various materials and varieties; this was especially true for related industries. This shows that firm steps are necessary to ensure the fulfillment of production under the best of conditions, particularly in related industries and in other sectors in order to ensure proper supplies—that is everything needed—to guarantee a normal progress of the production process.

We discussed these problems at length in February and I drew attention to the fact that we must develop related industries to a greater extent to have reserves and a good start in order to ensure proper supplies and a good production process; at the same time we must put order in ensuring proper supplies.

It is abnormal to have stocks of products, which are manufactured in our country, within the same central department for 10, 15 or 20 days when, at a world level, supplies are provided 3-4 times a day thus ensuring the circulation and utilization of raw and other materials and of financial assets.

More determined measures are necessary to implement the programs for raw and other materials under most favorable conditions. We have achieved certain positive results in mining, but, unfortunately, things in the oil sector do not look too good.

We have discussed the measures required to develop geological reserves to a greater extent and to more rapidly start production in all zones where raw materials can be extracted. Things are not as they should be. Firm measures are required to ensure pit coal production and thus coking coal production in accordance with plan provisions. We must take all necessary steps to ensure that, beginning with the current month, we achieve 15,000 tonnes of coking coal per day and that by May we realize at least 500,000 tonnes of coking coal per month.

This holds true for other sectors and raw materials such as copper, lead, zinc, and so forth.

We have had discussions with the leaderships of the Ministry of Mines and the Ministry of Chemical and Petrochemical Industry about the extraction of useful substances. We are losing yearly 22-25 thousand tonnes of copper because of the nonfulfillment of the extraction plan, an amount that turns into a heap of sterile and, in chemistry, into waste. The achievement of proper extractions would exert a positive influence on supplies in general, but also on economic efficiency in the two sectors of activity. This holds true for other sectors as well. I am mentioning only this example.

We have to pay particular attention to activities in metallurgy and chemistry and to the fulfillment of the production plans. In metallurgy, we must achieve 46-47 thousand tonnes of steel per day in order to fulfill this year's plan provisions under favorable conditions.

We must implement the provisions regarding material consumption and metal production. The comrades from Galati combine know very well that if they achieve the metal production, in fact, they will also observe both coking coal consumption and fuel consumption norms. However, by applying the norms and measures for recovering heat and energy, they are able to reduce these consumptions even more than stipulated in current norms. This holds true for all combines in metallurgy. I am raising this problem because in the first 2 months of the current year the metallurgical industry has had unsatisfactory results since it has not passed the level of last year's achievements. These problems are posed to the same extent in chemistry—and, in fact, in all ministries. However, I have mentioned these two sectors of activity because they are of particular importance for ensuring basic raw materials for the entire economy. Therefore, we must take firm measures to eliminate negative situations and ensure the implementation—beginning with this month—of the production programs with all varieties as stipulated by the plan.

Particular attention has to be paid by these ministries—in fact, by all ministries—to the proper operation and maintenance of installations, to completing repairs on schedule, and ensuring their routine inspection and proper use. Many breakdowns have occurred due to improper maintenance. We discussed this problem last month; however, once again, I want to draw attention to all central departments and all enterprises the need to strengthen the sense of responsibility and ensure the proper maintenance and operation of installations and machinery.

Firm measures are necessary to recover and reuse materials, subassemblies, and spare parts. As you well know, they play an important part in ensuring the material-technical base and we must ensure an increase, even beyond plan provisions, in the recovery and reuse of all these sources, while also working out appropriate technologies for using them with the best of results.

All central departments and counties must be seriously involved in the implementation of the programs established! As a matter of fact, last month we worked out, together with a number of ministries, tangible measures for fields of activity enabling them to reduce various consumptions and to replace certain materials. What a number of sectors, together with research, came up with demonstrates that the replacement of copper and aluminum yields even better results in a number of subassemblies and with some machines!

I am emphasizing this—and I want to draw attention to these problems—because even today a comrade mentioned here that he has not fulfilled his plan because of the lack of copper; this means that not all have understood well what action has to be taken to implement the plan provisions and reduce material and energy consumption.

Generally speaking, firm measures are necessary to ensure the complete observance of material and energy consumption norms and to continue to reduce these consumptions. In accordance with consumption norms, we have completely ensured the energy and raw material base; however, we cannot tolerate the violation of consumption norms and waste in any field of activity.

In fulfilling this year's plan and in developing all our activities in general we must pay particular attention to the quality and technical standard of products in all sectors; however, I would like to draw particular attention to machine-building, both machine-building ministries and the other sectors because the proper progress of

all our activities depends on this. The achievement of products of the best quality and technical standard throughout the economy and in exports is a vital requirement for all our activities.

We must also ensure a pronounced increase in labor productivity by better organizing work and the production process, by mechanization and the automation of certain operations, but also on the basis of a new system of machines, and equipment. I have discussed these problems with numerous ministries and central departments and I do not want to dwell on this anew; however, what we have discussed for the respective sectors must be given general application throughout the economy. We have great possibilities to build machine-aggregates in all fields and to perform several operations with the same machine, which today are performed by various machines, sometimes four or five and even more machines. Such a concentration of several operations on the same machine increases labor productivity and quality, reduces consumption, and improves our activity in general.

The councils for branches have discussed these problems in detail; however, I want to draw attention to the fact that each sector and each enterprise must determinedly take the necessary steps to implement the measures aimed at properly organizing work and at vigorously increasing labor productivity on this basis.

One of the central problems of the Romanian economy at this point is to scientifically organize and modernize production. We have a good, developed, and strong industry; we have invested a great deal. It is well-known, however, that what was appropriate even 1 year ago must now be perfected and modernized! Thus, in order to implement this year's, next year's, and future development programs and plans under favorable conditions, we must very firmly move to implement the programs for scientifically organizing and modernizing production on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology.

There is—I want to repeat—no problem more important for the Romanian economy at this point than this! We focus all our attention and concern on solving the problems of quality and technical standard, of material and energy consumption, and of labor productivity, and thus of general progress in all fields of our economy. This is an essential requirement for successfully building socialism and communism!

For certain branches and central departments we have discussed and established programs which must be implemented beginning with the current month. In certain cases, such as "23 August," IMGB [Bucharest Heavy Machinery Enterprise], "Republica," and other branches, on the basis of proposals and discussions, we have envisaged a three- to four-fold increase in the itemized and value production in the coming 3-4 years. "23 August" has to manufacture some 12,000 engines, that is 4 times more than it produces now. However, we have discussed not only the problem of increasing the number, but also the problem of manufacturing new generations of engines to match the best such engines, while in some cases we propose to exceed them to achieve even better parameters than those known internationally.

The meeting on machine-building probably discussed this problem. I am taking it up here, however, so that all comrades will understand what modernization and the scientific organization of production means. We must well understand that it is necessary for us to complete, in general terms, all programs for the modernization and organization of all activities on the most modern achievements of science in the shortest time possible—I should say in March! However, I want to mention the fact that in some sectors I have noted a rebutting and conservative position toward what is new. A central department—which has presented the modernization program and which had a number of outdated units—instead of reporting on how these programs were implemented, or why they were not implemented, and what it intends to do, produced some drawings to demonstrate that there is no more need to concern itself with developing this production and that we have to be satisfied with what we have. I have noted such reservations with others as well. It seems that some people believe that it is better to be satisfied with what has been achieved and to lead a quiet life! However, this is not what scientific-technical revolution means and it is not what revolutionary spirit means! On the contrary, this means conservative spirit. Everything that does not contribute to the development of science and society turns, in fact, into a reactionary activity! One cannot call himself a communist, a worker, an engineer, or a patriot if one holds a stagnant position that hampers the socioeconomic development of science and blocks the general improvement in the people's standard of living!

It is necessary to understand well that each one in his field of activity is obligated and responsible toward the people and party—the political leading force of our nation—to work with the greatest of responsibility and in a revolutionary spirit to implement the targets stipulated!

I am emphasizing all this because now, in March, we must actually complete the programs for all areas and to move to implement them beginning with the second quarter! We must instill a new, scientific, revolutionary, and responsible spirit throughout the activity aimed at our homeland's socioeconomic organization, modernization, and development.

This is the fundamental problem today for the construction of socialism in Romania and we must concentrate all our efforts in this direction!

For this purpose, the main role is played by the collective leadership bodies, the working people's councils, and the general meetings; however, I would also like to emphasize the important role that has to be played by scientific

research, by research and design institutes, which must be in the forefront in the modernization and proper organization of production on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology. We must, by no means, be satisfied with what we have achieved so far. We must not underrate the potential and capability of Romanian research. As a matter of fact, Romanian scientists have been in the forefront in many fields; in aviation, engines, chemistry, and other areas. We have particularly favorable conditions and we have a tremendous potential to solve—in a short time—the problems linked to the progress of science and technology, and to the modernization of all activities. We have discussed this and we have to specify in each branch on what we have to focus, so that we do not channel our efforts into too many subjects. I certainly do not intend to limit the possibility of people to think and to come up with something new; however, our programs must focus on what is topical and on what we want to achieve in the coming years. Along with this, each person can think and deal with any problem, but not for the sake of coming up with a great number of inefficient proposals, but with future and basic problems, which will bring about a revolutionary change in various areas.

We have the necessary potential and—this year and next year—we must particularly focus on these problems of implementing the programs aimed at improving our activities in all areas to match the standard of the most modern achievements of science and technology and, in some areas, to boldly aim for a front-ranking place and for the best of results. This is possible and we have to do this! This means that Romanian science will embark with all its potential on the road of the new scientific-technical revolution, the new agrarian revolution, and of constantly increasing its contribution to the progress of our homeland, and to the construction of socialism and communism in Romania! (loud, prolonged applause)

Today's discussions also emphasized the need to resolutely implement the programs on raising the professional and scientific-technical level of cadres and workers and appropriately training the manpower. We have often stressed that, in the last instance, the decisive role is played by the people—workers, technicians, engineers, and scientists in various fields. Their activity is vital for the implementation of our socioeconomic development programs. This means that we should pay greater attention to implementing existing programs within our good system of recycling and raising the professional level of cadres. This should not be done only formally, Comrades. We must properly realize that, and—on the basis of the accumulated experience and practice and of the latest achievements—we should teach our workers, foremen, technicians, and engineers how to organize and carry out the productive process, so as to properly apply the good stipulations in this sphere, as well. We should move the engineers out of their bureaus and send them into production! Our laws have clear stipulations for the number of engineers that may work in the planning process, the trade sphere, and so forth. Unfortunately, there are some people who, instead of asking to be sent to factories, sections, and the production process—which is why they actually attended various faculties and other higher education institutes—they sometimes use all sorts of friendship or kinship connections to secure for themselves a warm place in some office. This means that, within a few years, such a specialist is bound to turn into a blockhead and bureaucrat, who will not even know how to do his paperwork; he will forget his profession and will become a nuisance to everyone. I believe that the current provisions are very good, but that we should take steps to strictly implement these provisions and transfer the specialists to the actual production process, in the most important sectors of activity. This is the best way to also raise the technical and qualitative level of production, along with the concern of raising the professional and technical knowledge of our entire personnel.

It is also necessary to attach greater importance to economic efficiency matters and to the firm application of economic-financial norms and other regulations on setting production prices, in accordance with the provisions of the law on prices, which we adopted last year.

We should pay greater attention to the question of profitability and profits in all spheres of activity. We discussed this issue practically with all sectors and you know very well that we still have large expenditures and consumptions and that there is still a lack of complete order in the activity of setting cost and production prices.

There are still very serious problems in the utilization of export products. Generally speaking, the capitalization of many of our exports is unsatisfactory.

Talking about capitalization, one should also raise the problem of domestic production costs, of greater efficiency, and of the way in which we sell our export products. We cannot export a part of our national income like this! We must achieve equitable and advantageous trade. The financial and banking bodies should appropriately fulfill their role and obligations, in accordance with our law provisions on the economic-financial activity, prices, efficiency, and profitability. Unfortunately, I must again point out that these bodies are not doing a good job of it.

It is necessary to firmly apply the principles of self-management and self-administration. We should ensure the proper functioning of our legal provisions on the responsibility of enterprises, central departments, and all economic units for the entire activity. We should eliminate the mentality of some people who believe that self-management and self-administration means that they have the right to spend and consume as they deem fit, without having to account for their actions, and that once they are applying the self-management principle, they can do what they want! This is not only an erroneous, but also an anti-national understanding of this

principle, because nobody must think that once he was entrusted with responsibilities in a given sector, he can do what he wishes with the wealth of the entire nation.

The management cadres, together with the entire collective and the working people's councils, should administer the respective units with increasingly better results and should strive to further increase profits and the efficiency of each sector of activity.

Another problem I wish to refer to is our foreign trade activity, our international trade exchanges. We have scored a number of good results in this sphere. We maintain relations with a very large number of states and we are carrying out a broad economic and international cooperation activity; however, we must openly admit that we cannot be fully satisfied with the results and the way in which we perform this activity. We have the means to achieve a much stronger development of our economic exchanges and production sharing ventures, particularly of the efficiency of our foreign trade, as I have said before. We have the means to properly capitalize on the Romanian people's labor, to utilize our raw and other materials, and to achieve an equitable and mutually advantageous trade. We should not promote a foreign trade activity that can harm our socioeconomic development!

All those active in the economic sphere—in enterprises, central departments, ministries, working people's councils, central bodies, and primarily in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and other foreign trade enterprises—are duty bound to take steps to commendably fulfill our programs of international cooperation.

We must strongly develop cooperation within CEMA. Let us do all we can to ensure that CEMA plays an ever more important role in the resolution, by each country, of the complex problems of its socioeconomic development. We believe that, through better cooperation among themselves, the CEMA countries can solve their socioeconomic development problems much better than has been the case to date, including the problems and lags in various branches and the promotion of a strong scientific-technological progress.

In this spirit, we are determined to participate in and develop our activity with all CEMA countries, to expand relations of cooperation and production sharing with all socialist countries, and to increase our cooperation and production sharing with the developing countries; likewise, we are determined to take further steps to expand relations with the developed capitalist states and all states in the world, regardless of social system. We are duty bound to actively participate in the international division of labor and in the exchange of assets in all fields. However, we would like this cooperation to be based on the principles of full equality and mutual advantage and to ensure the socioeconomic progress of each country!

We must properly realize that the achievement of the foreign trade activity is an objective prerequisite for us and that we cannot fulfill our socioeconomic development programs without broad international cooperation in all spheres.

We must understand that this cooperation should be based on the new principles of equality and mutual advantage and should contribute to the progress of each nation and the well-being of each people. Only then will the foreign trade activity really serve the interests of progress and peace in the world! (loud, prolonged applause)

In this respect, I draw attention to the fact that we should immediately take all necessary steps to fulfill the production earmarked for export at an appropriate qualitative and technical level, in accordance with contract stipulations; we must also ensure the delivery of export products and the cashing of their currency or barter value on schedule. We believe, and I repeat this, that the foreign trade activity must be the primary and main concern of each enterprise and central department. It is not permissible to exceed the production plan and fail to achieve the export targets! First of all, we should achieve the export! Even if some difficulties arise, we must achieve the export! This is something which applies to all sectors of activity!

I would like this to be the last time we discuss this matter. Beginning with March, we should achieve a radical change in this sector and fully implement the export plan provisions, both for hard currency markets and on the basis of clearing with the socialist countries. We have everything required for this, hence there can be no justifications for failure.

Generally speaking, I believe that we should obtain an overall improvement in all industrial sectors this month. Thus we will lay a lasting foundation for achieving the plan for the entire year, and, on this basis, for commendably fulfilling the eighth 5-year plan of the country's socioeconomic development. We have everything required for this and I am convinced that all of you will take responsible steps along this line and that all working people will do all they can to commendably fulfill their duties and implement the provisions of the plans for the country's socioeconomic development! (loud, prolonged applause)

Esteemed Comrades, we are at the start of the spring agricultural campaign. Yesterday's meeting of the Council for Agricultural Problems examined in detail our current programs; hence, I do not wish to dwell upon them. However, from the very beginning, I would like to draw attention to the fact that we should work in such a way as to ensure that this year we obtain the best agricultural production thus far.

Today, we are marking the 40th anniversary of the RCP Central Committee plenum which decided to proceed with the cooperativization of our agriculture. Life and reality have proved the correctness of the road decided upon at that Central Committee plenum, a road on which the entire Romanian peasantry and agriculture have embarked since then! It is inconceivable to think that Romanian agriculture could have made such great progress or achieved the present large productions, without the state and cooperative socialist sector. Today, the villages and units which 40 years ago were among the first to embark along the road of cooperativization, are producing yields of 8-9,000 kg wheat and barley per hectare and of more than 20,000 and up to almost 30,000 kg corn cobs per hectare! These results strongly prove in actual fact the superiority and correctness of the socialist organization of agriculture in our country!

On this anniversary, we should act in such a way as to prove, in our entire activity, that there is not, and there cannot be, another road for a modern and highly efficient agriculture than the socialist agriculture, the large socialist agriculture! It is true that there also exists a large capitalist agriculture, but the difference is that the capitalist one relies on the oppression of agricultural workers, while the large socialist agriculture relies on the free work of the peasantry and other working people in villages. There is no other road for a modern and highly efficient agriculture!

We have important achievements in all fields. We have ensured the mechanization of agriculture and everything else required by a modern agriculture. We should now concentrate on carrying out sowing and all other agricultural operations on schedule so as to ensure—and I repeat this—that this year we obtain the best production ever in the entire period of Romania's development. It is imperative that we sow the corn on at least 1 million hectares of irrigated land. Likewise, the entire area sown to vegetables, that is more than 300,000 hectares, should be fully irrigated. We must perform the sowing and all other operations on schedule. In view of this spring's conditions, we should actually gain a month, by sowing sooner; thus, we will create appropriate conditions for a good crop in 1989.

It is necessary to take responsible steps to combat the trends still apparent in some places, including in the Ministry of Agriculture, to excessively use certain chemical ingredients which can have a damaging impact on the production, environment, and life itself. Let us take all steps to commendably fulfill our livestock programs, which must ensure, in the coming few years, an increase in the number of cattle and sheep to the level of provisions stipulated by the programs for the development of the Romanian agriculture. One should clearly realize that, without 11 million cattle and without 30 million sheep, we will not be able to achieve an advanced zootechny and agriculture!

We have obtained important increases compared with the previous period, but we cannot be satisfied with just that. The programs examined yesterday by the PEC and the Agriculture Council ensure that we attain these targets in the coming 3-4 years. All counties and units should take the necessary steps along this line!

Likewise, it is necessary to pay greater attention and work in a spirit of greater responsibility to contract for and take delivery of the agricultural and food produce from all sectors, for the state centralized stocks. Let us ensure that this year we obtain new and important results in the overall implementation of the new agrarian revolution, which presupposes a general increase in the peasantry's economic and political level; let us strive to draw nearer the living standards in villages to those prevailing in towns and to raise the overall level civilization of the whole nation.

Likewise, I would like to draw attention to the need to take firm steps to implement the investments program, particularly the commissioning of all projects on schedule—industrial, agricultural, social, and particularly the housing projects.

In this respect, I would like to emphasize once more,z the need to pay particular attention to investments in the mining, oil, and energy fields. We must do everything possible to ensure that we fully implement this year's provisions in these sectors!

Esteemed Comrades, the PEC meeting examined the evolution of production and retail prices in 1988. We noted with great satisfaction that production and retail prices stayed at the 1987 level and that they were even somewhat lower in industry. Likewise, the prices of agricultural and food products sold by agricultural producers were somewhat lower than in 1987. This means that we have achieved a good stability of prices, which proves the strength of our economy and the correctness of our price policy. This year, we will have to do all we can to maintain prices at the level envisaged by the plan. The stability of production and retail prices is an objective prerequisite for ensuring our socioeconomic development and raising the whole nation's well-being.

As of 1 March, we proceeded to implement the last stage of the pay and pension increase. At yesterday's meeting, the PEC and the Central Committee decided to conclude the pay increase action 1 month earlier, so that, as of 1 August 1989, all working people and pensioners will receive increased salaries and pensions.

Within a period of 1 year—from August 1988 to 1 August 1989—the overall yearly remuneration was increased by some 29 billion lei and the pensions by 2.4 billion lei. In this respect, it is worthwhile mentioning that the minimum pay increased from 1,500 lei to 2,000 lei and the small pensions grew by some 35-40 percent.

These measures became possible as a result of the strong development of the forces of production and the implementation of provisions for the country's socioeconomic development. At the same time, these measures, like the entire activity of socialist construction, prove the correctness of our Communist Party's policy and the fact that all we are doing aims at promoting the country's overall development and the whole nation's well-being, which is the supreme goal of our party's policy and the essence of building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania! (loud, prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!")

Likewise, the measures adopted to increase remuneration funds in agriculture—40 percent for grain, and higher payments for other products—show the party's constant concern with improving the remuneration system in agriculture and with continuously raising the incomes of cooperative peasants.

The entire activity of improving the remuneration system in accordance with the overall contract system, on the basis of socialist principles, must be a constant concern of all economic bodies, trade unions, and party organizations. We should unswervingly act to further strengthen the state and cooperative socialist property, which is the guarantee of continuously developing the forces of production and raising the level of civilization and well-being of our whole nation!

We should always see to it that nobody in our society can make a living without work or by exploiting the work of others. We should firmly apply our principles and remuneration system, which ensures the further growth of incomes on the basis of each person's work and efforts! It is only through work that all our fatherland's citizens, from all sectors, can and must ensure the continuous growth of their incomes. However, we should always bear in mind that the increase in the overall living standard is closely linked to the general development of the fatherland and to the strong development and expansion of industry, agriculture, science, culture, and other sectors of activity.

Without an appropriate socialist accumulation, of at least 30 percent, we would not have had now the necessary conditions to raise the people's living standard. If we do not continue this policy, we may jeopardize the future of our whole nation. Therefore, the firm application of our general policy of justly distributing the national income between the consumption and development funds and the concern with ensuring the necessary accumulation and the enlarged reproduction are objective laws, without which one cannot build socialism or make any kind of socioeconomic progress, in general! (loud, prolonged applause)

It is also necessary to take steps to further improve the framework of our workers democracy, which ensures the participation of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, all working people, regardless of nationality, and our whole nation in running all sectors.

In our entire activity, we should be guided by the principle of building socialism with the people and for the people! We should firmly apply the country's laws on the role of socioeconomic units, central departments, enterprises, and other units. Let us ensure that all counties, towns, and communes carry out their activity on the basis of their own socioeconomic development plans—as part of the overall plan for the entire country's socioeconomic development! We should further increase the role of general meetings, as management bodies, and the role of the working people's councils.

The working people's general meetings held at the beginning of this year strongly emphasized the creative force of the owners and producers—the true masters of the entire country—who decide, through their work and activity, on the socialist and communist future of the fatherland and the independence and sovereignty of Romania. (prolonged applause)

We have a wonderful democratic framework, which ensures the most diverse participation of the whole nation in running the society, in working out our domestic and foreign policy, and in consciously building, by the people themselves, their own free and independent future, the communist future! (loud applause)

Within the process of developing our revolutionary workers democracy, all party-state cadres must carry out their activity in close connection with and under the permanent supervision of the working people and all the people. We must constantly act to strengthen the spirit of responsibility, order, and discipline in all fields, to thoroughly eliminate bureaucratism and other forms of narrow-mindedness, to combat complacency, smugness, and the tendency to hide the true facts—particularly the negative state of affairs!—and to firmly fight certain manifestations of dishonesty which, unfortunately, are still apparent in various sectors.

Let us strongly develop the critical and self-critical spirit as well as a firm attitude toward shortcomings. Let us wage a resolute struggle against all that is old and outdated and that no longer corresponds to the new development stage. Let us boldly promote the new in all spheres, as it represents the future and can ensure our progress in all fields and our firm march forward along the road of socialism and communism!

We should never forget that there is no problem in any sphere that cannot be solved; there are only unknown and unsolved problems, both in science and technology and in the overall human knowledge.

Let us boldly act, in a revolutionary spirit, to further master what is new and to make new discoveries in all fields of activity!

Only thus will we be revolutionaries; only thus will our party be a revolutionary party, which always strives for what is new, for socialism and communism, and for a better and more just world! (loud, prolonged applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the People!")

Likewise, we should resolutely work to increase the responsibility and the role of party bodies and organizations in all sectors and to further improve the working style and methods. The fulfillment of the party's leading role presupposes the firm involvement of the cadres, aktiv, and Communists in unflinchingly implementing the party's decisions and the country's laws. The Communists should constantly be in the front ranks, in all fields of activity! Our state has very clear provisions on the responsibilities of state, economic, and party bodies. We do not want the party organization the run an enterprise—for this, we have the manager, financial bodies, the working people's council, and the general meetings. However, the party organizations from enterprises and all sectors are responsible for the way in which these bodies are carrying out their activity and they should pool all the working people's efforts toward a single goal, namely, to promote the overall development of each field of activity.

Increasing the party's leading role means to increase the responsibility of party activists from various state and economic bodies, which have to account—both before the respective bodies and before the party itself—for the way in which they fulfill their duties and obligations. The party cannot shirk its responsibilities and be a mere observer with regard to the implementation of socioeconomic development programs. We bear the responsibility—before the people and our nation's future—to do all we can to ensure that each party organization, activist, and party member fulfills the great, honorable, and highly responsible mission of doing everything for socialism and communism, for the people's well-being, and for the country's independence! Only thus will we be good activists and communists! (loud, prolonged applause)

On this occasion, I would like to again point out the need to further improve and intensify the political-educational activity of molding the new man, conscious builder of socialism endowed with a high conscience and revolutionary spirit, in all spheres.

The 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation as well as the preparations for and the unfolding of the 14th RCP Congress must bring about an improvement in all spheres. Let us welcome these historic events in the life of our nation and people with ever better results! Let us welcome the 14th Congress with the fulfillment of this year's plan provisions and with a clear long-term program for the coming 5-year plan, up to the year 2000, namely, the program of fully building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania and creating conditions for a transition to the implementation of the communist principles of life and work. (loud, prolonged applause; loud chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!")

Thus, we will also make an active contribution to solving the great international problems of today's world, to promoting a policy of peace and disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to achieving a new economic order and new relations of full equality among all nations, on the basis of the principles of independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and observance of each nation's right to freely decide its road of development, in accordance with its wishes.

We are determined to fully contribute to resolving all international problems and we will resolutely work to ensure the triumph of the ideals of peace, cooperation, and socioeconomic progress in the world. (loud, prolonged applause)

In conclusion, I would like to again emphasize the need to immediately proceed to implementing all established measures, plans, and programs, so as to achieve, as of this March, a radical improvement in our entire activity.

With the conviction that all participants in this meeting will take responsible steps to fulfill their individual targets and tasks, I wish you all success in the entire activity. I also wish our party bodies and organizations, the working people, and the whole nation to obtain ever better results this year, so as to ensure the fatherland's overall progress! Much health and happiness! (applause, chants: "Ceausescu—RCP!")

With this, I declare the meeting proceedings as closed.

Success in work! (loud, prolonged applause. Prolonged chants: "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the People!" In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and close unity, all those present in the hall gave a prolonged cheer for the RCP, the leading political force of the nation, and for Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of the Republic)

Kosovo Presidency Assesses 'Special Measures'

AU0703150089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] At its session held today, the Kosovo Presidency concluded that the introduction and implementation of the special measures has had a positive effect on the normalization of the political and security situation in the province, which is still burdened by some Albanian nationalists and separatists.

Production is more or less being carried out normally in all work organizations except the Stari Trg mine where technical, technological, and other political-security preparations have not yet been completed. It is still necessary to invest extraordinary efforts and intensify ideopolitical activities among the miners and explain to them the political background to the events that took place in February.

This was said in a statement issued by the Kosovo Presidency.

SFRY Assembly Committee Addresses Measures

LD0703181889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1608 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Mar (TANJUG)—Special measures in Kosovo are being applied in keeping with the law and are yielding positive results. However, the situation in the province remains complex, and it is thus necessary that apart from all the citizens in the province, other factors in the country also make their contribution to the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo, which is also important for the stabilization of Yugoslavia as a whole. This was concluded at today's session of the SFRY Assembly Committee for Internal Policy, which examined the initial results following the application of special measures.

In his introductory report Slobodan Tadijin, deputy federal secretary for internal affairs, told the delegates that since the introduction of special measures there had been no attempts to violate them. At the same time, he stressed, all the categories of the enemy in the country have become active and are acting from these positions. This is illustrated by a recent increased number of hostile slogans in all parts of Yugoslavia in which state organs of the SFRY are being insulted and attacked, Tadijin stressed.

The session also discussed the Albania television intrusion into our 12th channel [as received]. In this connection, the need to immediately identify the causes and culprits of this incident was stressed.

Kosovo SAWP Presidium Secretary Resigns

LD0203200489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1804 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Budislav Vujisic, secretary of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium, has announced his resignation from this office. During today's session of this forum, he stated his view that the acceptance of the extorted resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija would mean a departure from the policy of the LCY and a concession to the forces that are against the consistent realization of the policy on Kosovo. Vujisic stressed that he did not wish to belong to the forum which, after yesterday's announced resignations of four Serbian and Montenegrin members of the Presidium of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference, would become ethnically pure.

Belgrade Assembly Adopts Stands on Kosovo

LD0203201389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—At today's session the assembly of the city of Belgrade adopted stands on the current political situation in the country. The stands support the special measures in Kosovo, which were ordered by the SFRY Presidency, and the stands of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia and the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee. Delegates of the assembly of the capital voiced the demand that everyone who tried to break up Serbia and Yugoslavia be named, and that appropriate legal measures, and not only political responsibility, be undertaken against them.

Belgrade Students Issue Demands on Resignations

LD0103221589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—Representatives of faculties, higher education institutes, and student residence halls of Belgrade University held a meeting this evening in which they demanded that a decision be passed not to accept the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija, the names of the organizers of hostile activities in Kosovo in November and more recently issued, and legal responsibility be established.

A request was also voiced to condemn the speeches made at the Cankar house meeting which had anti-Serbian content and encouraged Albanian nationalism. The Belgrade University representatives demanded, in particular, that the speeches by high-ranking people in sociopolitical organizations of Slovenia, Milan Kucan, Joze Smole, and Joze Skolc, be assessed.

These stands were taken during this evening's meeting of the Belgrade University representatives because the students' demands voiced at the meeting were not met.

Demands of Kosovo Protesters in Belgrade Noted

AU0103180389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1656 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Here is a report by Radovan Brankov and Dusan Ostojic from in front of the SFRY Assembly building.

We are reporting from in front of the Serbian Assembly building where a meeting of citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality from Kosovo, as well as numerous Belgrade people is taking place. We have just received the typed demands of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo who are taking part in the meeting in Belgrade on 1 March this year and we will read it for our listeners. It will be read to those at the meeting in a minute or two.

1. The demands of the students, workers, and citizens presented at the meeting in Belgrade on 28 Feb are supported. Dissatisfaction is expressed with some of the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium which relate to the calling to account of comrades Stipe Suvar and Stefan Korosec;

2. The proposals of the Leposavic miners and especially those concerning the resignations of Comrades Morina, Azemi, and Sukrija are supported. It is demanded that they withdraw their resignations, and the accountability of Comrade Remzi Koljgeci be established immediately. In this context, full support is given to the stand of the LCY Central Committee Presidium that it cannot accept resignations forced by the exerting of pressure and blackmail;

3. The SFRY Assembly should analyze the question of the use of nationality flags at its next session and adopt a law as soon as possible on the use of these flags, in order to provide control on the use of the flags of nationalities according to the currently valid regulations;

4. New criteria and conditions should be formulated for financing the development of Kosovo from the federal fund for the development of underdeveloped areas and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo for the next period of the plan. Until this time, the increased expenditure which has arisen because of the counterrevolution in Kosovo should be met by the federal fund;

5. It is demanded from the competent organs in the SR of Slovenia that they immediately take all measures to stop the solidarity fund for aid to the Stari Trg miners considering that this directly favors the counterrevolution in Kosovo. If this does not happen, we will call on all citizens of Yugoslavia to boycott Slovene goods;

6. It is demanded from the SFRY Assembly that, in line with the appropriate regulations, it re-examine the status of Albanian immigrants in Yugoslavia who do not have Yugoslav citizenship and that it return all those who have a disloyal attitude to this country to Albania and publish their names;

7. The register of arms in Kosovo should be carried out and essential measures should be taken for their confiscation considering the counterrevolution in Kosovo and the danger from interethnic conflicts;

8. The Kosovo SAWP Presidium should remove from the list of possible candidates for membership of the SFRY Presidency Remzi Koljgeci, Bajram Seljani, and Savo Komatinic, because they have lost the confidence of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo;

9. It is demanded of the appropriate federal organs that they immediately cut off all illegal and other ways of providing funds for the financing of the counterrevolution in Kosovo, especially from Islamic countries;

10. The strictest sanctions should be imposed for the misuse of social property because each case of misuse is to the direct advantage of the counterrevolution in Kosovo;

11. It is demanded that the decree of 1946 be scrapped immediately on the ban on the return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo who left Kosovo during the occupation and the confiscation of property. Their return to Kosovo and the return of the confiscated property, that is [word indistinct] should be made possible;

12. The SFRY Presidency measures are supported which were introduced in Kosovo and their consistent implementation is demanded without any kind of compromise, as far as the final liquidation of the counterrevolution in Kosovo and the provision of the full equality, personal and property security of all citizens, and peaceful life;

13. It is demanded that all measures be taken immediately to identify, arrest, and most strictly punish the organizers and inspirers of the November demonstrations, the February unrest, and the general strike in Kosovo;

14. Certain, above all national, institutions should set up their own specialized, expert, and scientific departments in Kosovo, as well.

Kosovo Scientific Figures, Others Sign Petition

AU0103211789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Position of Kosovo Defined in 1974"]

[Text] Pristina, 22 Feb—Exactly 215 scientific and cultural workers from Kosovo today signed and sent to the Assembly of the SR of Serbia and the Yugoslav public an "appeal" or a petition, in which they are asking that the constitutional position of Kosovo be protected according to the principles of the 1974 SFRY Constitution.

This is what is said in the "appeal":

Aware that the elements and value of the constitutional position of Kosovo essentially represent the constitutional value of the population of Kosovo and therefore the special real and emotional value of the Albanian population in Kosovo; aware that Kosovo is not and cannot be the single-nationality political property of any of its nationalities or of any nationality outside it, especially as it is not the Kosovo of the Middle Ages or the Kosovo of before the Middle Ages; nor is it a Kosovo of the balance of power of the Balkan Wars; nor is it a Kosovo of the balance of power of the Second World War, but Kosovo is of the National Liberation War and the socialist revolution; nor is Kosovo the South of Serbia or old Serbia according to the reactionary and national-hegemonistic concepts of Nikola Pasic and his present-day imitators, but a Kosovo of all of its nationalities in which one of the most essential components of its national individuality lies; aware that any limitation of the established constitutional rights of a nationality, a population, or an independent and autonomous territory would be not only an anachronistic act, but also the constant cause of dissatisfaction and the feeling of deprivation;

We, scientific and cultural workers of Kosovo who are signatories of this appeal, are sending this appeal as SFRY citizens to the Assembly of the SR of Serbia as we have the inviolable democratic and constitutional right to express our opinion and wish concerning the constitutional changes which affect us directly and about which we have the right to state our own attitude.

We are appealing to the Assembly of the SR of Serbia to adopt only those amendments which do not concern the changes between the SR of Serbia and the socialist autonomous provinces. Other amendments which relate to these changes as regards a possible better specification of the appropriate constitutional provisions would be considered in the procedure of preparations for a new constitution. As far as the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina is concerned, the possibility can be envisaged of joint constitutional provisions which allow a different level of structuring of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina in the composition of the SR of Serbia, of course if that is the wish of the peoples of Vojvodina and if this wish is expressed under the democratic conditions of the expression of views.

We are stressing once again that the Assembly of the SR of Serbia with its political wisdom should bear in mind the attitude and feelings of the majority of the population of Kosovo for preserving the present constitutional position of Kosovo. We think that this reasonable call should also be respected from the viewpoint of long-term friendly relations, to which we are always aspiring.

We are also stressing that this does not cause any kind of blockage in the Constitution, because the appropriate constitutional provisions remain in force. Responsibility for the political crisis is always borne by the side that insists on changes of a political nature which do not suit common feelings and interests especially when there are attempts to establish relations of subordination between sociopolitical communities with a national dimension.

We are calling on the Yugoslav public, including its political structures, and primarily the public in the SR of Serbia, to be sincerely aware at this serious moment that our stand and appeal for the institutional protection and affirmation of the constitutional position of Kosovo on the basis of the principles of the SFRY Constitution is legitimate and constitutional. It is inspired by the most precious values of the socialist revolution and the political emancipation of all the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia and, in this context, of the working class and Albanian integration into Yugoslavia. Therefore, the frequent calculating and politically pragmatic assessments of the alleged lack of information and disinformation among the Albanian people in Kosovo as regards the contents and direction of the constitutional changes represents an underestimation not only of one people, but also of the emancipatory trends in Yugoslavia to date. The politically pragmatic claims that the Albanian people in Yugoslavia are against the constitutional changes as a whole are also calculating and untrue. However, it is well-known that the mass demands that the basic constitutional principles and Constitution of 1974 not be touched, have the political-metaphorical meaning that the constitutional position of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo should not be touched, which is a just and legitimate demand.

Let us be allowed to ask any people or any goodwilled citizen: According to what justice and how is it at all possible that the Albanians in Yugoslavia have been deprived of that level of political autonomy which was created in the seventies through mutual political will by achieving the present constitutional position of Kosovo as a community of equal nationalities. We believe that we have no need to cite on this occasion the words of Tito and Kardelj on the present constitutional position of Kosovo. Let us awaken the voice of reason and wisdom with the question: Did the constitutional creator of the seventies and the most eminent political personalities of that time not know what is the "essence of autonomy" in the given real interethnic relations and the realities of the national collectivities?

The possible limitation of the constitutional position of Kosovo would provoke the sincere feeling among Albanians that something has been taken away from them that was not given as a present but which has belonged to them from the very beginning.

Since the limitation of the constitutional position of Kosovo (as an autonomy built on a national basis) implies the strengthening of the statehood of one people over another, such a limitation cannot objectively have

humanist elements. This would be at odds with the general emancipatory development of society and as such would have an anti-historical character.

What proceeds from all this is the fact that our attitude and appeal imply self-respect and real mutual respect between peoples and nationalities.

Therefore, we consider that our appeal to the Assembly of the SR of Serbia and the Yugoslav public is just, legitimate, and reasonable.

In calling on the Yugoslav public to support our appeal we consider support above all to be sincere understanding. However, the Assembly of the SR of Serbia has a duty and the deciding role in the institutional protection of the constitutional position of Kosovo in the sense of not giving its agreement to any amendment in which the rights and obligations of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are reduced in any way, that is, the quality and degree of the independence of these rights and duties.

In calling on the Yugoslav public to support our appeal, we are deeply convinced that it supports the equality, democracy, mutual understanding, and friendship of peoples and nationalities, thereby supporting justice...."

The appeal was sent through the information media to the Assembly of the SR of Serbia, the SFRY Presidency, the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the presidencies of the republics and provinces, and the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium.

[The following commentary attributed to Milos Antic appears boxed within the body of the item]

But Where Are the Facts

BORBA is carrying this appeal with the observation that for reasons known only to themselves, its authors have forgotten to say what specifically it is in the forthcoming constitutional changes in the SR of Serbia that represents a threat to the constitutional position of Kosovo, a limitation of the democratic rights and freedoms of Albanians, and so on. In this way, when they are invoking some general fear, something that could possibly happen but which is not really envisaged by one single amendment, then the ones receiving the appeal, and above all the Kosovo public, have no alternative but to presume, if they are well-intentioned, or even doubt the good intentions of those who have made the appeal because the "appeal" does not contain one single concrete fact which would corroborate it or bring it the solidarity of those it is aimed at.

On the other hand, it is a strange coincidence that this "appeal" has been made at one of the most difficult political moments for Kosovo since the war, in days where several tens of thousands of workers of Albanian nationality throughout Kosovo are striking, stopping work, refusing warm meals, and expressing solidarity with the "Trepca" miners and at the moment when the political leadership of Kosovo have pointed out in a unified way that this way of protesting and exerting pressure is unacceptable and that the "claims that the changes to the constitution of the SR of Serbia will threaten the basic orientations, rights of the province, and rights of the Albanians in Kosovo are tendentious and malicious".... (the assessment of the Presidium and Presidency at last night's session).

It is more than strange that not even one of so many scientific and cultural workers remembered to call on the miners and all their followers to stop their unique and unprecedented way of expressing dissatisfaction—by remaining in the mine shaft—and explain to them that this is an unacceptable way of exerting pressure on the legal organs and institutions of the system and that everything that has happened in recent months is more than the cause of what is no longer the emigration but the escape of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. And of not only them but of Turks and Croats, as well.

Army Presence in Kosovo 'To Prevent Repression'
AU0703143589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 89 p 7

[Lj. Stojadinovic commentary: "The Columns Are Not a Threat"]

[Text] "There has been much talk in recent days about an emergency situation and emergency measures, and often it seems as if this involves anti-constitutional, secret business which threatens the democratic road for the development of our country. Disinformation is spreading and complete ignorance of the Constitution and laws is being demonstrated. Emergency measures are a constitutional category which, if they are taken, protect the constitutional order and people's freedoms. If it comes to emergency measures, the role of the Armed Forces in all this is to eliminate armed and other destructive attempts to bring down the socialist order."

The cited words do not stem from the recent drama. They were voiced a few months ago by Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, member of the LCY Central Committee. Of course, the fact that this was said by a man in the position of the chief of the general staff of the Armed Forces of this country does not, in any way, increase the drama of everything that is happening to us, but is only a consequence of it. Few people interpreted this explanation at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee as a threat, except those who invoke the Constitution and the law only as regards their own understanding of legality, but deny the possibility and right of anyone else to such measures. The absurdity of the attitude according to which legal destruction and corrosion is allowed, but the measures to stop this are unacceptable and can only be understood by the logic that wishes for something to break. Such logic proclaims all reasonable measures which arise from the dictates of somber reality as

superficial and actually in the interests of a new breaking point. Since it attempts to conceal anti-Yugoslavism and anticommunism, their artificial democratic veil becomes increasingly grotesque among the political public and is increasingly a game playing with general freedom accompanied by the false feeling of freedom as a special gift from civilization.

Of course, in such a compact area, in inflamed passions and disregard for other people's suffering, and in the exchange of feelings and the delineation of patriotism, it is not possible to preserve the freedom of existence for one's own interpretations and an exclusive lack of concern for the whole of the country and for its destiny as a whole. It is certain that no one could exist in this area outside a federal and socialist Yugoslavia, but it is difficult to survive with the constant pondering of the question of whether this country is a good enough homeland for us.

Army columns in an area as a symbol of an army which is always moving somewhere do not serve in the current measures as a onesided symbol of a threat but, above all, of an encouragement. This concerns a decision which represents a logical measure by the country's Presidency as the collective supreme command which is definitely deprived of "the generals' syndrome of pressure," since the presence and tasks that the Army has in Kosovo proceed from the needs of the sociopolitical system. In this context, soldiers and officers are subjected to clear psycho-physical difficulties and, although it sounds like a slogan, they evaluate their work according to the level of Yugoslav patriotism which has otherwise been devalued in trenches between republics and provinces. We are sure that the members of the Yugoslav People's Army do not consider that the most important matters are solved with emergency measures. Their orientation is the democratic denouncement of the Yugoslav drama. The measures, therefore, are neither army solutions nor the final solutions, they are only the means against those alternatives which would degenerate into pernicious impassioned ethnic clashes.

In this way, the army columns are encouraging, but not because someone believes that force is a solution to the situation. It is known that this is a long process, far longer than the act of a decade-long destruction. Encouragement comes from the expressed resolution to "eliminate attempts to bring down the socialist order." There have been considerably more attempts than could be borne by anybody's patience and there have been just enough to make the involvement of all "institutions of the system" unavoidable.

It is important to say something else as at least a part of the reply to the ignorant but arrogant lessons which were given to the Army from Cankar Hall a few days ago. The Army in Kosovo, or in any other place, does not operate on behalf of any people but on behalf of all peoples and nationalities and is not a means of repression, but a force with the aim of preventing repression and discouraging possible calculations from the other side of the border.

The columns of our tanks are, in any case, a considerably more attractive picture than columns of somebody else's tanks.

Yugoslav Veterans Support Kosovo Measures

LD0203181589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1214 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The veterans of Yugoslavia give their unreserved support to the special measures by the SFRY Presidency for Kosovo. Such a decision was justified and necessary. These measures should ensure peace and order and the security and safety of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo.

This was stated today by Milan Pribic, president of the Yugoslav Federation of Veterans Association Federal Board, at the emergency session of the Presidium of the veterans' organization, which examined the current political situation in the country. The focus of attention was the latest events in Kosovo and the surrounding area, which have disturbed veterans throughout the country. More than ever before, it is necessary for the veterans of Yugoslavia to be united, it was stated in the discussion, and that today these gray haired people should fight to preserve the gains of the revolution and Tito's Yugoslavia with the same enthusiasm with which they fought during the war.

Kosovo Writers' 'Cynical' Statement Viewed

AU0203204289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25-26 Feb 89 p 13

[TANJUG report: "A Cynical Leaflet"]

[Text] Pristina, 24 Feb—Writers of Albanian nationality in the Kosovo Writers Association today disputed the legitimacy of the constitutional changes in Serbia and called for Rahman Morina, Ali Sukrija, and Husamedin Azemi to submit their resignations.

In a statement that was given to TANJUG, they mention the 8-year political, clerical, crusading campaign against Kosovo and, using the most vehement political language, reject all changes aimed at resolving the real Kosovo problems.

The members of the Kosovo Writers Association also mention 8 years of lies and curses, verbal terror about the counterrevolution, Albanian nationalism, and separatism, and so on, with which they once again confirm that the real ideological inspirers and fomenters of the Kosovo drama are hiding in their ranks.

At the end of this cynical statement, which has been issued at a time when huge efforts are being made to normalize the situation in Kosovo, the writers of Albanian nationality state that they will do everything in order for understanding and humane tolerance between peoples to be built in Kosovo. They conclude this leaflet by saying that they will do everything to prevent Kosovo from becoming Northern Ireland, the Basque country, or South Africa.

Vojvodina To Vote on Constitutional Changes

LD2802235789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1734 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Janos Sreder, acting president of the Vojvodina Assembly, has convened a session of all the chambers of the Vojvodina Assembly for 10 March, in agreement with the presidents of the Chamber of Associated Labor, the Sociopolitical Chamber, and the Chamber of Municipalities. The Vojvodina Assembly chambers will on this occasion give their consent to the amendments to the Serbian Constitution and endorse the draft amendments to the Vojvodina Constitution.

Novi Sad LC Proposal on LCY Conference

LD2802234789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—At today's session the Novi Sad LC City Committee Presidium proposed that the extraordinary congress of the LCY be held before the nonaligned summit in Belgrade.

The Novi Sad LC City Committee Presidium assessed the protests of citizens and students in Novi Sad as a justified reaction to the aggressive and organized activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists who try to attain their goals through pressure, not even stopping at endangering workers' lives. [passage omitted]

Student Center Workers Claim Vlasi Visits

LD2802163889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1529 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—A group of workers of the Serbian, Montenegrin, and Romany nationality, employed at the student center in Pristina, today presented the media with information that claims that Azem Vlasi paid frequent visits to the student center during the November and February events.

In a petition signed by 38 workers, the view was expressed that Azem Vlasi "had significant, if not crucial, influence on the students and workers in the student center of Albanian nationality."

The workers who signed their names state that last night in the student center, there was a true celebration after the emergence of the Trepca miniers from the pit, and that a miners' delegation visited the leaders of the center.

Montenegrin Assembly Amends Constitution

LD2802235189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1828 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Titograd, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—Today the Montenegrin Assembly adopted amendments to the Constitution of this republic, concerning the constitutional and legal basis for early elections of delegates and the possibility of direct, secret vote for electing candidates to all senior posts. [passage omitted]

The adopted amendments envisage the separation of political and state functions. In the future, the president of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee will not be in the Montenegrin Presidency. The Presidency will have seven members, who will be elected by the Assembly. The term of office of the president of the Presidency will be 4 years, without the right of reelection.

The assembly adopted the proposal by the Montenegrin youth organization that the republican state Presidency and the member of the SFRY Presidency from this republic be elected by referendum.

Today delegates of the Sociopolitical Chamber of Municipalities adopted the proposal, according to which a referendum will be held on 15 March to elect a member of the SFRY Presidency from Montenegro. This will be the first time that the citizens of this republic will directly elect members of a leadership.

Talks on FRG Visa Introduction Continue

Loncar, Schaeuble Meet

LD2802092989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2104 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Bonn, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—It has been officially announced in Bonn that Wolfgang Schaeuble, head of the federal chancellery, and Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, this evening considered the possibility of jointly resolving the difficulties in mutual relations which have arisen with the sudden growth in the number of Yugoslavs who have been seeking asylum in the FRG.

Friedhelm Ost, the government's press representative, noted that Schaeuble "explained the planned introduction of visas for Yugoslav citizens and the legal and organizational questions connected with this."

Schaeuble, Ost said, stressed that the FRG Government "for the time being intends to stick to its plans, but agrees to negotiations between the two internal affairs ministries, which should be set up shortly."

The communique says that Loncar offered assurances that the measures planned on the Yugoslav side would immediately be put into practice and that this would make the introduction of visas superfluous.

The Yugoslav side stressed a readiness to cooperate to overcome the burden which is exerting pressure on international relations, but also noted that the introduction of visas would be taken as an act of discrimination with unavoidable consequences for all forms of FRG-Yugoslav cooperation.

On the West German side, it was repeated that the introduction of visas should not be understood as an act aimed against Yugoslavia, the importance of relations with which—for relations in Europe—is highly appraised in the wider context. It was duly noted that in Yugoslavia it is estimated that a month or two will be necessary for the measures which will be taken to have a visible effect.

The Yugoslav side gained the impression that if the FRG Government adopts the decision to introduce visas for Yugoslavs, Bonn is ready to reexamine this decision immediately if, over the next few weeks, the number of "asylum-seekers" begins to decline.

FRG Debate Postponed

LD0103010789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1644 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Brussels, February 28 (TANJUG)—The European Community Council's [words indistinct] (?agreement) on the introduction of visas for the citizens of some 60 non-EC countries by mid-1989.

The EC countries' judicial and police experts have already made a list of countries whose citizens will have to have an EC visa for entry into the EC countries when borders are abolished among the (?twelve) in 1992.

Explaining a demand by the European Commission that the EC countries reach an agreement on "joint visas" and coordinate procedure for giving asylum and extradition at their summit in Madrid in June this year, European Commissioner for the Internal Market Martin Bangemann said that the EC does not intend to become a "fortress" toward "third countries."

Asked whether persistent efforts by some government organs in Bonn to introduce visas for Yugoslav citizens were a denial of his statement, Bangemann said it could not be said for sure that visas will be introduced.

Commenting on a remark that the introduction of visas by the West German Government would be against the spirit and contents of the recently signed agreement at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in Vienna, Bangemann said that West Germany was still debating whether or not to introduce visas for Yugoslav citizens.

Bangemann left the question open, but said that such a move would be a blow to the agreement on cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EC, and especially to the practical forms of the cooperation which the EEC says it finds interesting for economic and political reasons.

Bangemann also said that the coordination of the policy on visas, extradition and asylum is raised as necessary because (?if) it is not done, borders could not be (?abolished) and effective functioning of a "unified market" could not be secured.

A government spokesman who wished to remain unknown indicated that Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar said during yesterday's visit to Bonn that his country could introduce a number of measures which could make the introduction of visas unnecessary.

The West German Government decision to put off the debate was received as the news of the day here today. Chancellor Helmut Kohl himself is believed to have decided to take the debate on visas off the agenda. Influential circles in his Christian-Democrat Union and the entire public have indicated the political harm and virtual inefficacy of such a measure.

Loncar met with Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher and Chancellery Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble in Bonn yesterday.

Genscher and Schaeuble offered their assurances to Loncar that the Bonn government regrets having to discuss the introduction of visas for Yugoslavs, but that the increase of "false" asylum-seekers last year was so high that it does not see any other solution.

More than 20,000 Yugoslavs sought political asylum in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1988 claiming that they were exposed to political persecution at home. Only 19 were given political asylum.

Yugoslavia, for its part, indicated that the two countries should use joint efforts to stop the operations of illegal organizations which bring Yugoslavs to the Federal Republic of Germany for large sums of money promising them resident permits. Yugoslav Ambassador in Bonn Milan Dragovic said that the leaders of these organizations are in the F.R.G. but have helpers in Yugoslavia.

Measures on Asylum Proposed

LD0803100189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1717 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade March 7 (TANJUG)—The Yugolsav Secretariat of Internal Affairs will introduce selective and restrictive measures for decreasing the number of so-called false asylum seekers from Yugoslavia in the Federal Republic of Germany, it was stated at a news conference in Belgrade today. Assistant Yugoslav Secretary of the Interior Jovan Vuckovic said that one of the measures will be a more detailed examination of requests

for issuing or extending travel papers and, when there is a legal basis for denying such a request, the request will be turned down. This means that no Yugoslav citizen with honest intentions will fall under the restrictive measures.

The message issued at the news conference to all those who aspire to get asylum in the Federal Republic of Germany under false pretences is that this kind of false pretence is damaging to the reputation and interests of Yugoslav and is a basis for the non-issuing or refusal to extend a passport. It has been confirmed in the latest contacts between representatives of the Yugoslav and West German Internal Affairs Ministries that it is easy to see that the self-proclaimed political exiles were in fact seeking asylum for economic motives, and it was stated that the Federal Republic accepts the fact that there is no political persecution in Yugoslavia.

Vuckovic noted that the same measures will be implemented against anyone who in any way violates the laws of the Federal Republic, regardless of whether they are illegally extending their stay in the Federal Republic, working without a permit, or whether they are criminals, smugglers, trafficking in drugs or similar.

Vuckovic stressed that everything will be done to put out of action the organizers of the mass departures of false asylum seekers.

Vuckovic further said he wished to draw attention to the fact that the two countries' police forces share the view that Bonn's intention to introduce visas for Yugoslavs (visas were abolished in 1965) comes at a time of very good political, economic and other bilateral relations. Their joint assessment is that this would have a negative effect on the two countries' interests, on their business contacts, economic cooperation, tourism, and would be to the detriment of the large majority of Yugoslavs who live in the Federal Republic and make an honest living there.

Yugoslavia's stand is that the introduction of visas will not solve the problem of false asylum seekers, and that the solution to that problem is in individual measures by both sides and cooperation between the two countries' competent bodies.

Asked what would happen if Bonn, nevertheless, introduced visas for Yugoslavs, Vuckovic replied: "We cannot influence the decision of the F.R.G.'s Government, and the decision of the Yugoslav government is a matter that exceeds the competencies of the Yugoslav Secretariat of the Interior.

Soviet-Yugoslav Trade Talks Held in Belgrade

LD2802235289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1809 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, February 28 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav-Soviet trade talks on the exchange of goods and services in 1989 opened in Belgrade today. The Soviet Union is Yugoslavia's most important foreign trade partner.

Ministers of economic cooperation with foreign countries Nenad Krekic of Yugoslavia and Konstantin Fedorovich Katushev of the Soviet Union and their collaborators are taking part in the talks. It was said during the talks that a completely balanced and equal rate of trade in goods and services of close to six billion dollars for both sides was planned for 1989, which would be an increase of about 200 million dollars against last year.

Yugoslavia had a surplus of over 1.7 billion dollars in trade with the Soviet Union towards the end of last year, which fueled its annual rate of inflation of about 250 percent.

The trade credit balance from the past period will again be considered separately, while views were exchanged on cooperation for this year and the next in a wide field of areas, from scientific-technical cooperation and production, to the exchange of goods and services.

During today's talks considerable attention was devoted to questions of new forms and mechanisms of cooperation, made possible by the changes in the two countries' economic systems. The two sides agreed to form a working group of experts who would propose certain changes in the mechanisms of payments and trade agreements, which should be used in preparing new medium-term trade agreement for the 1991-1995 period.

The signing of a protocol on trade in goods and services for the year 1989 is expected tomorrow.

Outgoing Yugoslav Prime Minister Branko Mikulic received Minister Katushev later during the day.

They exchanged views on cooperation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and the implementation of economic and social reforms in the two countries.

Satisfaction was expressed with the successful development of economic relations which are enriched also through higher forms of cooperation such as joint investments, industrial cooperation and scientific-technical cooperation.

The big problem of Yugoslavia's trade surplus was pointed out, which is an obstacle to even more [word indistinct] economic cooperation. It is necessary to invest joint efforts to solve this problem as soon as possible, the two sides underscored.

Protocol Signed 1 Mar

LD0103204689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1921 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union will trade goods and services to the value of six billion dollars this year. This will include mutual deliveries nontracted under long-term arrangements, which do not make part of this year's commodity lists.

This is envisaged under a trade protocol for 1989 signed here today by Yugoslav secretary for foreign trade Nenad Krekic and his Soviet counterpart Konstantin Katushev.

Just as so far, Yugoslavia will export [words indistinct] chiefly ships, products of the engineering industry, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the chemical industry and the food processing industry, raw materials and consumer goods and services in building construction and tourism.

Soviet exports to Yugoslavia will include products of the ship building, engineering and chemical industries, fuels and consumer goods.

During their talks preceeding the signing of the protocol, the Yugoslav and Soviet officials discussed questions of Yugoslavia's surplus in trade with the Soviet Union, as well as cooperation in the construction of capital investment projects in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and in third countries.

The Soviet minister was today received by Yugoslav Premier-Designate Ante Markovic and Vice-President of the State Presidency Stane Dolanc. In the ensuing talks they assessed as positive the two countries' efforts towards surmounting the Yugoslav export surplus.

Loncar Defends Khamene'i Visit Before Chamber
LD2502185789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1546 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber today adopted conclusions on implementing the Yugoslav program on Kosovo in which the request is made that the FEC assess—within a month at the latest—what tasks have been performed from the program, and then establish collective and personal responsibility. It has been recommended that the same thing be done, in the framework of their competence, by the republican and provincial assemblies, especially the Provincial Assembly of Kosovo and the municipal assemblies in Kosovo. Responsibility should be established for all those who fail to carry out their tasks or who do so incompletely.

These conclusions will also be adopted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, which also held a debate on the political-security situation in Kosovo at its previous session.

The Federal Chamber instructed the Federal Assembly's commission for monitoring the implementation of the program on Kosovo to take an urgent look at the new tasks, and in keeping with the latest events, propose concrete measures for settling the situation in Kosovo. There was also support for the initiative of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Youth for resolving the Kosovo difficulties in which there is particular insistence on responsibility. The delegates of the Federal Chamber were also acquainted today with the course of the official visit by Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i to Yugoslavia. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, submitted preliminary information on this.

A report on the visit by the Iranian president was included in the session's agenda at the initiatives of a number of delegates. Viktorija Potocnik informed the Federal Chamber about the Slovene Assembly's statement of protests, which sharply condemned "a call by the Iranian religious leader Khomeyni to kill writer Salman Rushdie, the author of "The Satanic Verses." The statement goes on to say that international terrorism and encouraging and rewarding criminals is not the way to achieve understanding among peoples and fulfill the rights of individuals and nations and human rights as well. Viktorija Potocnik asked the Federal Chamber to consider the Slovene Assembly's statement.

Ljubica Savic assessed that yesterday's news conference by 'Ali Khamene'i "was in many ways unusual" because the Iranian president devoted his meeting with the "seventh force" [as received] "to the revengeful aspirations vis-a- vis the poet Rushdie," and in doing this abused his hospitality. He requested that delegates of the chamber be acquainted by the competent authorities today with the course and results of this visit.

Ibrahim Hadzic stressed that the Federal Chamber should not vote on the statement by the Slovene Assembly because it is sovereign. This is an independent act by the assembly of one republic and needs to be neither confirmed nor disputed.

Zarija Martinovic supported the stance of the Slovene Assembly, stressing that this question deserves exceptional attention, and he proposed that a discussion be first of all held on this at that session of the foreign policy committee and thereafter in the chamber, on the basis of authoritative and verified information.

Janez Lukac proposed, and the delegates accepted this, that information be submitted to the chamber today on the visit of 'Ali Khamene'i. Since an assessment of the visit by the Iranian president has not yet been completed, preliminary information on this was provided by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs.

Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, first of all said that despite "the undesirability" in connection with the Rushdie affair, the importance, need for, and productivity of the visit by Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i to our country should not be brought into question.

We believe that this visit is useful in many ways and that it is in keeping with our harmonized and principled approach to the Middle Eastern problem, as well as with the well-known and lasting orientations of Yugoslav foreign policy, but that it also opens up scope for the Yugoslav economy, Budimir Loncar said, explaining the reasons for this visit.

He informed delegates about the course of the visit and the talks, in which there was discussion of bilateral and international relations, as well as of concrete arrangements for improving economic cooperation. Particular attention was devoted to cooperation in the framework of the Nonaligned Movement, Loncar stressed.

The talks were held at a very unfavorable moment as a result of the incident which occurred prior to the visit—the proclamation of the supreme religious leader of Iran, Khomeyni, on "the brutal orientation toward action to murder" the British citizen Salman Rushdie, author of the book "The Satanic Verses," Loncar said. This statement was not pronounced by the leadership of the state, but by the religious leader, so we were not able to bring the visit into question, he explained.

In the dialogue between the two sides, this question was not avoided. Loncar said that in his talks with Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati, he appealed on behalf of the Yugoslav Government for consideration to be given to the withdrawal of the "verdict" on Rushdie, especially as this writer has dissociated himself from some of the elements in his book which offend Muslim believers.

Loncar stressed on this occasion that he understood the irritation of a large number of believers, but that this could not justify such an act against Rushdie. Velayati stressed that the appeal was received "with great respect" and that he would convey it both to Khamene'i and Khomeyni, Loncar added.

Raif Dizdarevic, president of our state Presidency, in his talks with Iranian President Khamene'i, also raised this question, Loncar added. In this connection, he conveyed to Khamene'i that the act against Rushdie has been very badly received by the Yugoslav public, that it has unfavorable consequences, and that numerous reactions are occurring.

In the meantime, Khamene'i expressed a view at the news conference which, in Loncar's opinion, "is not in keeping with the customary style of behavior in a third country." However, Loncar added that, formally speaking, the talks with the journalists were outside the official visit and the program of Yugoslav-Iranian talks. Our public received this badly, which is not surprising, the federal secretary for foreign affairs stressed. The Yugoslav public justifiably rejects such an act against Rushdie, and considers it inappropriate and unacceptable in the modern civilized course of developments and in the relations between the state and the people. However, this should not be equated with the visit by the Iranian president, which was important, necessary, and productive, Loncar said.

We cannot be under the illusion that any visit can eliminate all the differences existing between states. In a world of differences and interdependence, we must aspire toward dialogue, but not at the price of closing our eyes to what differentiates us or of dropping our principled positions, Budimir Loncar concluded.

At the proposal of Stjepan Novakovic, president of the Federal Chamber, a debate was not opened on this information, and the statement of protest by the Slovene Assembly was "noted."

The proposed conclusions on implementing the Yugoslav program on Kosovo provoked a polemical debate at today's session of the chamber. The assessments, as on the occasion of a debate on Kosovo—this Yugoslav "number one problem" for years—were completely different. There was also a proposal that the adoption of the conclusions be postponed and that in the meantime, other conclusions, which would be "more effective" and appropriate to the time and the situation in this province, be prepared. [passage omitted]

Suvar Receives Italian Communist Official

LD0203181189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1705 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 2 (TANJUG)—League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency President Stipe Suvar Thursday received member of the Directorate of the Italian Communist Party (ICP) Giorgio Napolitano.

The two officials discussed their parties' activities in the internal sphere and international topics.

They especially focused on trends of the European left and its activities in the sphere of general European cooperation.

Suvar and Napolitano highly assessed Yugoslav-Italian relations and the contribution of the LCY-ICP cooperation to this.

Mikulic 'Convinced' Solutions Can Be Found

LD0203225789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—Explaining the stance in the analysis placed before the SFRY Assembly 2 ½ years ago, in which it says that "the complexity of the economic situation requires measures to be adopted immediately which will produce longterm effects, the postponement of which would have unforeseeable consequences." Branko Mikulic said at today's session of the FEC commission that this relates above all to the perfection of the economic system and the acceleration of work on changing the political system, on stimulating measures for improving scientific-technological development as a constituent part of the overall development of society, and on structurally adapting the Yugoslav economy.

With regard to opinions about two policies that have allegedly been conducted by the FEC, I will recall only the fact that the resolution for 1986, which was approved on 28 December 1985 in the SFRY Assembly, established the explicit obligation to ensure that by the enhanced overall social control of prices—and if need be the direct control of prices—the current monthly growth in prices in this year would be reduced to three percent, Mikulic said. This was the order approved by the SFRY Assembly in the resolution. At that time, the criteria for the setting of the prices of raw materials and semiprocessed materials, electricity, and consumer goods were also established. The so-called orientation parameters of the Federal Prices Institute were to serve as the basis for the direct control of prices.

The resolution established that interest rates must be harmonized with the policy of lowering inflation. Thus, the resolution prescribed to the FEC what it must do, Mikulic said.

I think that this was included in the resolution after political discussions regarding implementation of the anti-inflationary program were previously held, and the LCY Central Committee conclusions adopted.

In mid-1985, the well-known debate regarding realization of the anti-inflationary policy occurred, and the conclusions about this question were adopted. This was carried over into that year, and it obliged even that FEC, whose president was Milka Planinc, and the FEC elected in May of that year.

Mikulic said the following about the work of the commission:

When we gathered at the first session, we knew that different opinions existed both in Yugoslavia and among us in the commission about questions to which we decided to find answers. However, this did not interrupt us in accepting—I can freely say—a very ambitious task, which should have been accomplished in a relatively short period.

We agreed to achieve this through seeking and offering, according to our opinion, the best solutions in the economic system by the means of argumented and democratic dialogue and in the atmosphere of mutual trust and tolerance. This has as its consequence the evolution of opinions and stands adopted during the work of the commission. Great progress can be seen during the period from when we started to the finale of our work, in our ways of thinking, especially in the stands and proposals we compiled.

We agreed then not to work under the burden of any ideology and other restrictions, but completely free, creatively, leaning on professional knowledge and science, on our own and on world experience. Starting from the long-term program of economic stabilization and taking into account the depth of the economic crisis, our aim and task was to offer solutions to problems in the economic system, whose application would overcome the crisis; we would then start on the road of prosperity, based on new foundations.

Today when we summarize results of our work in the past 11 months, I believe that we can say without exaggeration that we successfully finished most of our work in a short period of time. We started practical implementation of the reform withthe adoption of the laws on enterprises, foreign investment, planning, financing, accountancy, and others. I am aware that even today, objections to some solutions in the laws could be heard. This is partly a consequence of solutions in the Constitution; I have in mind those parts of the Constitution regarding the political system, since at the beginning, the agreement was reached in Yugoslavia that that part of the Constitution was not to be touched during this phase of the constitutional reform. This remained a great restriction. For example, some regulations, prescribed by the solutions in the Constitution demanding that we work it through the law, entered the Law on Enterprises, without which we would rather see that law. [sentence as received]

Furthermore it should be said that this is mostly a consequence of direct interventions made by delegates in the SFRY Assembly during adoption of laws.

Mikulic stressed that with the adoption of new laws and what they provide for, a great step forward in reducing regulations at the level of the federation was made. Therefore the number of laws and number of sublegal acts was reduced.

Mikulic said that at the level of consciousness, there were professional and regional differences, and even restrictions, but we were resolved to persistently discuss these issues and to clarify our views, and in joint interest, to harmonize our opinions about them. I think that we have mostly accomplished this. Naturally, I do not imagine that everything we proposed is so perfect that it is complete once and for all. On the contrary, all this will need to be built up, improved, both adopted to demands of time and practice—both ours and the world practice. This concerns above all the system of taxation, distribution, stimulation of faster development of economically underdeveloped social policy, social activities and other questions. Although this is not the time to say it, I will say that I am convinced that when we talk about our work experiences in the atmosphere of goodwill, mutual respect and trust—which was dominant during the work of our commission—solutions could be found relatively quickly to other open questions with which our society is faced—social, political, ideological—about which we hold different opinions and about which we confront each other publicly, all of which makes the general situation in the country more complex, and nourishes nationalism and other backward-oriented tendencies, Mikulic stressed.

I am convinced that with the engagement of the creative forces of our society, a platform could be created on the basis of which we could achieve and consolidate unity and harmony in our multinational socialist self-managing community. Clearly, such a platform would have to be based on the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] decisions and the LCY program in such a manner that demands of the present and future times would be met, and not in a static fashion. Furthermore, we should not call on the AVNOJ decisions and the LCY program only in phrases, and without meaning it.

I want to repeat, Mikulic said, that in the atmosphere which we nourish in the commission, solutions to other open questions in Yugoslavia can be found.

Stanovnik Warns of 'Catastrophic Consequences'
AU0703142489 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
1 Mar 89 p 1

[Statement by Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia: "A Time of a Great Trial"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Feb—Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, issued the following statement last night:

Slovenes and all inhabitants of Slovenia:

We are living through fateful moments for the existence and development of our common motherland, the SFRY.

The Kosovo drama has been causing concern for all of us for a long time. Here I have in mind all the people of that tortured province: the Albanian majority in the province, as well as the Serbian and Montenegrin minority and others.

The events of last week particularly shocked our people. Demands for a mass expression of solidarity have spontaneously arisen all over Slovenia. Precisely this mass concern is the best evidence showing that the Slovenes see their fate linked with the fate of Yugoslavia, and in this sense, particularly with the fate of its most endangered part. In this atmosphere, the SAWP yesterday organized a meeting in the Cankar Hall. This meeting was an expression of the Slovenes' concern for life and coexistence in Kosovo, and thus for the development of democratic relations, equality, and all those principles on which Tito's federal and socialist Yugoslavia have been built.

This meeting demonstrated that the Slovene political leadership—which is monolithic and amicably united in the struggle for socialism in Yugoslavia—enjoys the mass support of the broadest strata of the people, and especially the working class. This was a broad wide meeting at which speakers participated, who, along with their common concern, also expressed their views. unfortunately, these views often had no connection with the problem of Kosovo. In all of Yugoslavia, we now live under conditions in which the people have awakened, and we also listen to views with which we do not agree.

This meeting disturbed the people in some other parts of Yugoslavia, where they obviously attached more significance to some personal views of individuals, so that they failed to hear the basic message of the meeting, which was: united, socialist, democratic, and federal Yugoslavia. This led to mass protest meetings in other regions of Yugoslavia, where incautious statements and even threats were heard. For the entire day, I have been exposed to pressure from citizens of Slovenia demanding a mass response.

In these circumstances, I appeal to all of you and I beg you to understand the seriousness of the moment and to behave sensibly and tolerantly. Emotional and mass protests open the door to possible provocation, which may have catastrophic consequences. We Slovenes and inhabitants of Slovenia face great trials. I understand the disquiet and concern of all who care for the SR of Slovenia and the SFRY as our common motherland. Let us trust ourselves and our joint conviction that we must preserve unity regarding the basic tenets, respect our constitutional system, and ensure order. Our respect for our constitutional system enables us to establish our life in the republic in order to suit people. In the federation, we regulate what we have determined to be common, unified, and equal to us.

The way out of the crisis is the reforms that should make the system economically efficient and such that we will enjoy freedom. We are firmly determined in this respect. All of us, including those of us in the leadership of the SR of Slovenia, feel this to be an expression of the deepest interests of our working people. At the same time, I turn to all Yugoslavs: The hundreds of thousands of signatures from all over Slovenia collected yesterday and today were not collected against anyone, but only for brotherly coexistence in Kosovo and all over Yugoslavia. These signatures are an expression of our conviction that we cannot look for our future in mutual disputes and in fanning hatred and irrational feelings, but on the contrary, in brotherly coexistence and mutual respect. Hatred has had tragic consequences in the past; we who have gray hair unfortunately still remember them.

Words are sticking in my throat. The feeling of horrible responsibility does not allow me to express myself freely. Let us stop this altogether, while there is still time. Only the road of democracy, respect for human dignity, and respect for mutual differences and for equality can ensure that passions that have erupted will not cloud one's brain, one's reason, which instructs and warns us what we must do, what is worth persevering and standing up for, and what we should not do, for the sake of us and for the sake of the fate of the SFRY.

Markovic Addresses Youth Federation Presidium

LD2502161489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia must be a country of culture, abilities, business acumen, and enterprising spirit, and for that reason our behavior should be market-oriented, Branko Greganovic said today while opening the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia Presidium session. Ante Markovic, FEC president-designate, was the guest of the youth organization members. [passage omitted]

Everything that needs to be done to resolve our crisis is primarily aimed at young people, since the crisis has the greatest effect on them. Solutions must be sought at all levels, and by questioning the ideology, the system, and politics in order to see where we made a mistake, that is, what is not confirmed by life, since practice is the only competent 'judge.' For this reason, I advocate a new type of self-managing socialism, Ante Markovic said, by way of meaningful and inspiring talks with young people's representatives. He added that not being prepared to admit past mistakes is a guarantee of returning to the past.

We cannot find a way out of our crisis without strengthening motivation, for which the market provides opportunities, and which Markovic has favored for over 2 decades. If the market process, which the current economic policy cannot 'carry,' should speed up, then a new economic structure should receive priority, because it opens up real possibilites for a speedier development, employment, consolidation of economic efficiency, and development and application of knowledge and technological achievments. In small modern and flexible enterprises in developed countries, between 60-66 percent of the entire workforce is employed, while the figure is barely 5 percent in our country.

After noting that the foundation for the activity of the new government is based on the market concept, Ante Markovic pointed out that an FEC team will be elected to develop and finish it. About 100 candidates are proposed for the team. That number is significantly higher than the number of places on the FEC, which should be reduced. All candidates are not of 'the same quality,' but there are very good ones among them. The right man should be at the right place, but it is not easy to get such cadres.

For this reason, the FEC presidential candidate, as he put it, asked the institutions of the system to propose the best people. However, if he does not find appropriate cadres for all places in the second phase of talks with candidates who are 'shortlisted,' Markovic will ask for 'concrete' people. In this context, he addressed the suggestion that each candidate for minister explain his program. Without disputing the importance of individual programs, he replied with a question: What would any institution be like if each member of that institution had his own program?

Advocating consolidation of responsibility, the president-designate noted that he would propose the reconstruction of the state and the government. This is necessary for the consolidation and strengthening of responsibility of leaders in all spheres of activity. Everyone has to play his part in rights and obligations, and bear the consequences, which means that individual inability cannot hide behind collective responsibility. Taking responsibility for the functioning of the new development process is a condition for its successful outcome, since this cannot be secured by laws. There is no law which can resolve the destiny of a society, Markovic said, and advocated abolishing redundant regulations.

Japan Announces Rescheduling of SFRY Debt

OW0103083789 Tokyo KYODO in English 0758 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Tokyo, March 1 KYODO—Japan has agreed to reschedule an 850 million yen debt Yugoslavia's central bank owes to the Export-Import Bank of Japan, the Foreign Ministry said Wednesday.

The Japanese Government will also reschedule the repayment of 7.08 million dollars and 2,180 million yen Yugoslavian business owes to Japan, it said.

Japan and Yugoslavia exchanged diplomatic documents on the agreement in Belgrade on Wednesday.

Balance of Payments Records Highlighted

LD0203230789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The total current earnings in Yugoslavia's balance of payments reached $22,953,000,000 last year, more than ever before. This was stated today by FEC member Oskar Kovac at the session of the Committee for Economic Relations of the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces, which analyzed a report on the realization of last year's economic policy.

Kovac explained that the second record was the foreign currency income on the convertible market, which amounted to $19,386,000,000 in the same period. The third record refers to the convertible surplus in the balance of payments, which last year reached $2,210,000,000.

Croat Democratic Community Launched 28 Feb

LD0103140489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2205 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Summary] Zagreb, 28 Feb (TANJUG)—An initiative was launched in the Croat Writer's Association in Zagreb this evening to form a Croat democratic community. Over 150 participants took part in the discussion on the preliminary draft of program principles, submitted by the initiative group led by Dr Franjo Tudjman. The community will not be a separate political organization, but a "meeting place

of democratically oriented citizens", it was stated in the program principles. At the same time, an initiative was launched for the publishing of an independent organ for social and culture issues "of the Croat democratic community". The participants in the discussion also expressed regret over the introduction of special measures in Kosovo and demanded that these measrues be rescinded. The founding assembly of this organization has been scheduled for 2 April in Zagreb.

Socialist Youth Union Leader Interviewed

AU2802202189 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 27 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Branko Greganovic, president of the Presidency of the Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, by Darina Mladenova: "Pluralism—A Magic Formula"; given in Belgrade; date not given]

[Excerpts] I must admit that I expected more specific and more programmatic answers about the severe economic crisis, the national controversies, and the problems of young people in Yugoslavia. My interviewee, however, seemed more inclined to express his thoughts on a topic with which he seems to be absolutely fascinated—pluralism—since all his answers to my questions inevitably turned to the subject of pluralism. Is pluralism the only formula for getting out of the socioeconomic and political crisis? This question is discussed by everyone in Yugoslavia, and opinions differ greatly.

Branko Greganovic pointed out that the Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia does not consider it necessary to take a stand and to deal with all the topical problems in the country. Economic policy is the affair of the state, the party has its own tasks, and the youth union devotes its activities exclusively to a few sectors with a definite political orientation. These were the subjects on which our interview focused.

[Mladenova] Yugoslavia is going through a difficult period; the crisis is extending to all spheres of life. It affects the majority of young people. How does the Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia work under these conditions?

[Greganovic] I would like to point out, in the first place, that we should differentiate between youth in general and the youth organization for which I am working. This is very important for the functioning of the youth union in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

I understand my work as the expression of a kind of competition, aimed at imposing its opinion not by force, but by competing. This means that we should overcome the outdated method of work based on subordination.

I would like to point out that I am talking on my own behalf, from a personal and professional point of view.

[Mladenova] You mention competition in your work. However, the Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia is the only all-Yugoslav youth organization in your country. What kind of competition do you have in mind?

[Greganovic] Two processes of pluralization exist in our youth movement today—processes which are similar to those affecting all Yugoslav society. The first process is related to territorial pluralization. [passage omitted]

The second process of pluralization I mentioned is "external pluralization." Since the beginning of the 80's, we have been trying to point out the importance of the new social movements that have emerged in our country. It is no coincidence that we called them alternative in the first years. This shows an authoritarian and monopolistic approach to the functioning of society. Basing ourselves on the principle that "whoever is not for is against us," everything that was beyond the control of the existing structures was considered alternative. Unfortunately, it took us a long time to accept these movements. Even at our 1986 congress we expressed dogmatic views on them, and only in 1988 did we adopt a document expressing our positive approach to them. This shows our weakness and the monopolistic nature of our organization, because these movements exist, regardless of whether we should accept them or not, and the only possible discussion is whether and how we should cooperate with them.

[Mladenova] Would you name some of these movements?

[Greganovic] Yes, I will be specific. There is the "civil society" movement, for example. By the end of the 70's, we had sharp controversies about the punk movement, especially in Slovenia. The punk movement created opportunities for cultural development, which today are real. The present youth movements include various ecological and peace initiatives. Very powerful movements concerned with human rights exist today. One of them defends the rights of homosexuals. Last but not least, some political initiatives and new political organizations have emerged, which we could call political parties if we did not suffer from prejudice. Nevertheless, they cannot exist as parties, because political pluralism has not yet been legalized in Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Under the present political system and its institutions, the objectively existing pluralism can manifest itself only as territorial pluralism. Viewed superficially, this territorially determined difference of opinions could easily be considered nationalistic. What is even worse, we in Yugoslavia have only one party, only one type of social organization exists, and national pluralism is the only legal pluralism. What our country needs today is neither federalization nor nationalization, but pluralization. I think that we have reached a turning point in the process of solving the crisis, the decisive condition for which is to legalize political pluralism and to adopt a pluralistic attitude toward pluralism.

We accept reality as it is. For our union, this means accepting the fact that people with totally different opinions on various questions should work in the organs of our union. We do not regard this as an obstacle to our work, and by no means do we wish to eliminate this variety of opinions. We do not consider it necessary for everyone in our union to share the same views on all issues. The most important thing for us is to keep up the dialogue and promote a competition of ideas.

Islamic Community Adopts Constitutional Changes

LD0203182889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1111 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—An initiative to change the Constitution of the Islamic Community in the SFRY and other regulatory documents was adopted unanimously.

This was one of the conclusions adopted by a commission formed by the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Community in the SFRY, as well as by a commission whose members were selected by the imams at their recent gathering in Sarajevo. A joint meeting of the two commissions was held in the headquarters of the Supreme Assembly, designed to overcome the existing problems of religious life in the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, and Slovenia under the control of the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Community.

The meeting of the two commissions was conducted in an open, working, and constructive atmosphere, with maximum respect for the members and the views expressed. The awareness of common problems, issues of overall importance for the unity in the Islamic community, and a desire to overcome the existing misunderstanding as soon as possible helped to restore mutual trust to such an extent that at one point it was noted that it was not two commissions which were meeting, but only one with the same goal: Unity within the Islamic community and among its members, and to encourage progress and development in the religious life, in line with newly arisen circumstances and needs.

It was also unanimously agreed that the resignations which the comnmissions considered should be tendered promptly to the Supreme Assembly's legal institutions through regular channels.

All the conclusions adopted at the meeting have been verified by the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Community in the SFRY, which thus gave the go-ahead to all relevant bodies and institutions to implement them. This move makes the coordinating committee of the imams and their gatherings unnecessary.

As has been reported, at their recent meeting in Sarajevo, in addition to the calls for changes to the Constitution of the Islamic Community and the democratization of relations within it, the dissatisfied imams also demanded the replacement of the head of the Islamic community and of the president of the Council of Elders of the Islamic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Slovenia, and Croatia.

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